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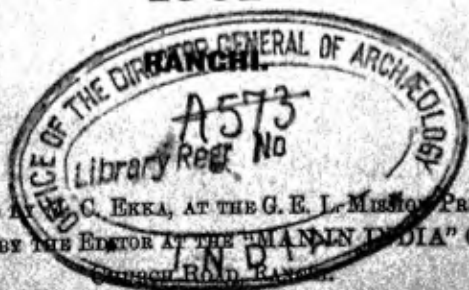
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# MAN IN INDIA.

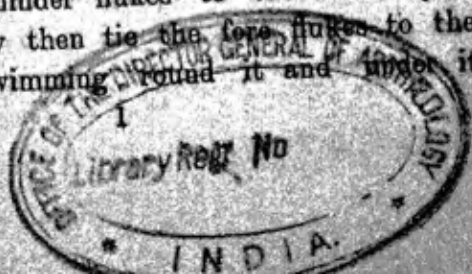
Vol. XI. } JAN.—MARCH, 1931. { No. 1.

## I. NOTES ON THE ANDAMANESE AND THE NICOBARESE.

By

J. H. HUTTON, M. A., D. SC., L. L. D., C. I. E., I. C. S.

The dugong when harpooned by the Andamanese is obtained by means of a long pole at the end of which is a detachable barbed head. The harpooner stands on the prow of the boat and, when the dugong is seen, he points his harpoon in the direction which the animal takes, changing it as the animal changes direction, his companion paddling in the stern and directing the canoe accordingly. As soon as he can get within reach, he throws himself with the harpoon at the animal which makes off with the detached head, to which a cord is fixed, while the harpooner climbs back into the boat and attaches a fresh head to the same shaft and then again pursues the animal to attach it by a second cord. Ultimately the canoe is brought alongside the exhausted animal and the occupants of the canoe dive overboard and first attach the hinder flukes to the canoe by a thick rope. They then tie the fore flukes to the animal's sides, swimming round it and under it



with the ropes in their hands. When hauled ashore it is despatched precisely in the same method as that used for killing a *mithun* by the Sema Nagas. An incision is made in the skin behind the shoulder into which a pointed stick is inserted, the stick being driven home to the heart, killing the animal instantly.

Turtles are harpooned in exactly the same way, but one harpoon is enough and the harpooner does not usually jump in with the harpoon, but goes in after it to catch the turtle's hind flippers to make sure of it. The turtle is despatched by piercing the brain with an arrow through the eye.

The Andamanese boys play at putting the weight. The men assured me that the pastime is indigenous and not introduced by foreigners and this indeed appears to be likely as other games do not seem to have been introduced.<sup>1</sup>

In dancing, the procedure consists first of a recitation by the composer of the party, followed by stamping on the sounding board, while the women, who sit with their legs stretched out in front of them, clap their joined hands on their two thighs and the men dance a stamping dance, arms outstretched in front of them and one finger held in the opposite hand. As the periods in the recitation are reached, the women sing as a refrain the last phrase of the composer's verse,<sup>1</sup> after which another spasm of recitation follows and so on. The songs appear to be topical.

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<sup>1</sup> cf. *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 102, 103:

In a Jarawa village, which was founded recently, a phallic symbol in wood carved out of a tree trunk *in situ* was found and brought back.

The Jarawas use a very broad bark belt of the nature of a cuirass protecting the abdomen and the lower part of the torso in fighting, like the hide belt-cuirass still used by trans-frontier Semas.

The outrigger of the Andamanese canoe, the smaller variety that is, for the larger are used without outriggers, must, I think, have been copied from the Nicobarese pattern. The method of attachment is exactly the same. The Nicobarese always use outriggers apparently, but the fact that the Andamanese use it only in the smaller canoe rather suggests that their original custom is to have no outrigger.

I noticed that the Onge Andamanese when drinking in the jungle put their mouth down to the water.

Some of the women, those whom I noticed were all youngish married women, are fantastically obese, excessively steatopygous and with breasts falling to the waist. One such, fatter than the rest, was obviously regarded by herself and by others as a beauty. She reminded me of nothing so much as an Aurignacian "Venus".

They use red ochre and the women smear it on their faces, necks and shoulders. White clay is used by both sexes, who paint their bodies in geometrical patterns.

The yellow dried skin of a dendrobium orchid is used for decorative purposes both by the Onge

and the Jarawa, as in the Naga Hills.

The skulls of the Onge appear to be deformed and look as if they have been artificially flattened. Mr. Bonnington considers that it is due to the carrying of loads from very early childhood and points out that the hair of women is often worn across the top of the head for the same reason. This explanation is perhaps a possible one, as the loads are carried by a band which does not pass, as in the case of most people who carry loads on their head, across the brow, where the skull is hard, but right across the middle of their head where the sutures are joined at a late date. <sup>2</sup>

The hybrids whom I saw had harsh frizzly hair clearly distinguishable from the closely curled soft woolly hair of the pure Andamanese.

Obviously the Andamanese are very highly temperamental, which, as they have been inbred for so long, is perhaps natural and comparable with the nervous disposition found in race horses and thoroughbred greyhounds for instance, like which too they are very delicate and susceptible to disease. Their temperamental disposition was illustrated by three Onges whom Mr. Bonnington brought with him on the *Shahjehan* to visit the Nicobars, intending after that to take them to Port Blair in order to study their language for a time. The men came willingly and in Car Nicobar Island fraternized at once with the Nico-

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<sup>2</sup> The shape of the Onge head reminded me of that of the Marken head in Holland, where the skull was regularly deformed unintentionally by the use of tight caps in infancy.



barese who fed them all the morning on anything they could stuff inside themselves, walked about with their arms round their necks etc. While we were at lunch one of these Onges strolled towards the jungle. The other two followed him. Some one remarked they are running away. The Nicobarese set up a wild shout (it is their custom to shout on the least provocation). The Andamanese took fright and ran away into the jungle. One we did not succeed in recovering at all. The other two were recovered trembling with emotion and were glad to get on board the ship again. One of them was sick later, but that may have been due to a stomach overloaded with strange fare. That night one of them jumped over board and the other was with difficulty restrained from doing so. He perpetually made signs that he wanted a knife apparently to cut his wrists and neck, but ultimately we got him safely back to his island. He was then reluctant to go ashore, and, having gone, plunged into the jungle, while the sad story was being made known to his fellows. The latter said nothing but trembling violently hurried after him into the jungle. We saw them returning half an hour later to take away our presents but whether the returned voyager was with them or not we could not say.

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### *Notes on the Nicobarese.*

The tree, *Bonningtonia speciosa*, is used by the Nicobarese for stupefying fish as other trees are in Assam and elsewhere.



Ownership is marked by a cocoanut at the top of a stick or similar sign known as *takoia* and constituting a prohibition against the abstraction of cocoanuts or other produce.

The houses have circular rat protectors <sup>3</sup> at the tops of the piles on which they are built and are extremely well made in the form of a dome, windowless but with a floor of open work cane matting which allows the air to percolate freely and enables all dirt or refuse to be swept down. The hearth is placed to one side of the centre opposite the trap door used for entrance, and consists of 3 or more stones bedded into a rectangle of earth let into the floor on boards. The villages are beautifully clean within the area of actual building; outside that scavenging is effectively carried out by pigs and hermit crabs.

I noticed swings in use for rocking children to sleep. <sup>4</sup> The head-gear, both the "dog's ear" head-band and the more elaborate mitre of the *mafai* are very reminiscent of Konyak Naga head-gear, <sup>5</sup> with two forms of which they are virtually identical.

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<sup>3</sup> This device is found in Saghalien (Ainu), Formosa, the Philippines, the Shan States, Assam, Borneo, New Guinea, New Britain and Madagascar, (*vide* Peal, *On the Morong etc.*, S. A. I. XXII 251, McGoven, *Headhunters of Formosa*, 176; Cole, *The Tinguian*, 394 and plate LV; Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, I, 53 and plate 40; Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, I, 302 and an unpublished diary of General Woodthorpe's).

<sup>4</sup> Colonel Sewell tells me that they also use swinging platforms big enough to hold three or four people. These platforms are swung underneath the huts and take the place of a *punkah*.

<sup>5</sup> Two Tours East of the Naga Hills (M. A. S. B. XI. i) plates 9 & 10.

The dead at Car Nicobar are buried with capstan-like posts put up over them, and in the top of one I noticed a paddle decorated with flying strips of coloured cloth erected blade upwards. In some cases a rounded or painted waterworn stone seems to be substituted for the "capstan" post. Later the bones are dug up and the bulk of them thrown into the sea, or, in some cases, apparently into bushes, while the skulls of worthies are reburied. There is said to be a bone heap at the edge of the beach to the south-east of the Mus cemetery. <sup>6</sup> It is possible that it is the reburied skulls over which the stones are put up as distinct from posts, but little information was obtainable in the short time at my disposal and the matter is clearly one for careful investigation. At Chaura the dead are buried in front of their houses for three days. They are then dug up and exposed in the heavy forest at the edge of the beach, each body in a canoe or in part of a canoe which is raised over the ground on a pair of forked wooden Y-shaped post. They are there left to rot and I saw many skulls lying about the ground, but owing to the fact that I could only go on board again in a Nicobar canoe and had nothing to conceal them in I was unable to abstract any. This canoe cemetery appears to be on the east of the island and to be

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<sup>6</sup> Colonel Sewell remarks that in rare cases the skulls are placed in a fork of the tree, and he saw two such skulls at Mus. The Headman insisted that these should not be touched though there was no objection to his removing the others provided they were not taken through the village.

the only one on the island, very obviously suggesting that the canoe builders entered Chaura from the east by sea.

The Nicobarese use a cane noose with a running knot at the end of a long bamboo for catching little pigs with. They make broad-bladed spears for hunting wild cattle and wild pig. They make fire by the saw method splitting a piece of dried stick into two (The tree used closely resembles the elder, but is actually one of the *verbenaceae*, *Premna integrifolia*, L.). One man holds the one half while another saws across it with the edge of the other half igniting the pith in less than 30 seconds. They are amazingly muscular. The hearth is spoken of as female and the saw as male. It takes two men, however to make fire, suggesting that the other Indonesian method of sawing round under the hearth, instead of over with a cane or bamboo thong, is a derivative of the cruder method used by the Nicobarese, and has been evolved owing to the necessity of individuals to be able to make fire alone, for in the thong method the hearth can be held by the foot. At Champen village in Nankauri island I noticed automatic bull-roarers erected on trees and masts placed out in the sea in front of the village. I am told they move them round in the opposite direction when the monsoon changes and, though they told me that they were erected merely as playthings for the children, I find it very difficult to believe that a device over which so much trouble is taken is not more than a toy. Their version, however, was to some extent

confirmed by the fact that one, which I had extracted from under a house was promptly claimed as his by a small boy. On the other hand it is the Nankauri people who go in systematically for scare-devils to a greater extent than the other island and I cannot help thinking that these are really intended to keep away the evil spirits. They are formed of a narrow plank to which a slight screw effect has been given by twisting and cutting so that they revolve in the wind about a central pin. At each end of the plank and facing in opposite directions is a node of bamboo the open end of which is partly blocked by rubber or wax. The result is that the revolving wood produces a very deep and loud booming noise identical with that produced by a bull-roarer. Among the familiar scare-devils <sup>7</sup> of the ordinary type I noticed that birds are very prominent, one being in the form of a seagull or a hawk very well represented. Kloss says that it represents the white sea eagle; from the form which it has, it might equally well be a frigate bird. When there is sickness in the house the scare-devils, which during the south-west monsoon are kept indoors and not, as in the cold weather, set out along shore, are dressed in frills and hangings of young green coconut leaves and I noticed in Chaura that a manheaded post, with a slightly

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<sup>7</sup> Human figures of various sizes generally with an upraised arm and a hole for a spear through the raised right hand, are the commonest, perhaps. Colonel Sewell noticed and photographed one human figure erected cross-legged like an image of Budha.

forked top, <sup>s</sup> was to be found outside many houses and that also in some cases similarly dressed.

Big Chinese jars are used for drinking water and very popular apparently. They are probably obtained from the Chinese who come to fish for shell, and are perhaps full of spirit when obtained.

The dead in Nankauri are buried with a sort of soul figure in the form of post on a grave which is dressed in the clothes of deceased and hung with fruit, weapons etc. After a period, which I was unable to determine, (it is possible that it depends on some festival for harvest or planting) the dead body is dug, the skull is feted and then reburied. It seems to me fairly clear that in these three burial customs we have an indication of two different people inhabiting the Nicobars. I suggest that the original inhabitants buried their dead in or near their houses and dug them up again to fête the skull as is done by the Yimtsungr of the Naga Hills, and others in that area. Those who came later must have come to Chaura in the first instance and brought with them the practice of exposing the dead in canoe coffins, presumably in order that their souls may return by sea to the land of origin further east. In Car Nicobar we seem to have a compromise between the two customs, the dead being first buried (by the sea shore in this case and not to

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\* A photograph taken by Colonel Sewell shows top-hatted figures whose head-gear is developed at the top into curved almost horn-like prongs exceedingly reminiscent of the skull-retaining horns to be found on the soul statues of certain transfrontier Naga villages (*vide. Two Tours East of the Naga Hills, M. A. S. B. XI. 1.*)



landward as in Nankauri), and then their bones thrown into the sea. This supposition is borne out, I think, by the fact that all canoes have to be bought in Chaura or else have to be "shown the way" there; while pottery is only obtainable from Chaura as if the new comers had not only brought in the use of canoe or of better form of canoe but also that of pot making. It is noticeable moreover that scare-devils, a very prominent feature in Nankauri, seem to be comparatively absent in Car Nicobar and more so still perhaps in Chaura suggesting that the new-comers' influence has been stronger in Car Nicobar than in Nankauri and strongest of course in Chaura.

Canoes, if not bought in Chaura cannot go there until they have been "shown the way", for which a very heavy fee is payable to the Chaura people who steer and conduct it. Until the canoe has been "shown the way" it may not visit Chaura, and an annual visit is always paid, and other visits are made to buy pots which can only be got from Chaura.

I saw at Car Nicobar a canoe race in two of the big outriggers which resembled very closely the Malay or the Bornean *prahu*. The racers first take a formal meal together discarding for the occasion their oddments of foreign clothing. They wear collars of young pale green cocoanut leaves, very becoming, and hang up similar decorations on their canoes and on the chief's house in which they feast, the hangings at the door being sprinkled with the blood of an offering. They first drink toddy and sing together the canoe songs

with solos and parts, very inspiring and melodious, even if a little harsh on the older men. The domed hut acts as a resonator increasing the effect of the sound. Kloss' statement that there are only four notes used seems to be entirely wrong, but it is possible that the singing of the Car Nicobar missionaries may have influenced range and composition since Kloss wrote. Obviously the Nicobarese are a musical people, their canoe songs being composed from time to time and it being the duty of one village to invite another village to a common feast with them and be taught a new canoe song annually. After the singing, rice and pork are served, the rice being obtained from traders. A piece of the pork is thrown out through the trap-door of the hut for the spirit of the canoe and promptly eaten by the dogs below. On the prow of the canoe a little live pig is tied together with live chickens, in order, it is said to propitiate the canoe. The racing takes place in the sea outside the reefs and we estimated speed at 6 knots, as they covered a mile (verified on a chart) in nine minutes on the occasion on which I watched them.

Wrestling is the favourite form of sport among the Nicobarese and every evening young men, boys and children wrestle on the sand. The method is similar to, though not identical with, that used in Borneo and in the Naga Hills.

In appearance the Nicobarese are Negroid in feature as well as Mongolian, but the frizzly hair which one would expect to find is strangely absent, though I did see a certain number of specimens.

Many of them have prominent brow ridges and I observed one specimen in which the brow ridge was excessively marked and was accompanied by a low and retreating forehead. It is possible that one would see more frizzly hair if it were not the practice of the men to cut their hair as short as possible making individual patterns round the edge above the ear with a razor. But I must admit that I noticed that most of the women seem to have quite leiotrichous hair, though it has a tendency to curl at the end which was denied to be artificial, and which made it differ from the typical dead straight Malay hair. Colonel Sewell has pointed out to me that the prognathous appearance of the Nicobarese is artificial, caused by betel chewing, and is absent in the children, but I cannot entirely agree with him. I certainly observed one or two children and one adult in Car Nicobar, who had not the chewing habit, the lower parts of whose faces were emphatically prognathous from the glabella downwards, giving them that doglike appearance sometimes seen in the Garo and perhaps to be associated with their dog descent as is their winged white pith head-band, their perineal tail and their amazing "fig-leaf" (I use the word for want of a better form) consisting of a blue bag covering the testicles and penis and prolonged by a piece of different cloth into a long red point. As regards their reputed descent from a man and a bitch who got afloat on a raft, this descent is on record in the Naga Hills in Assam<sup>9</sup>, where it

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<sup>9</sup> Butler *Rough Notes on the Angami Nagas*, J. A. S. B. 1875.



is ascribed to Europeans, and I think is also recorded of a Burma tribe.<sup>10</sup> The Nicobarese reminded me a good deal of the Manipuri or the Ao Naga, but more of the Garo in appearance, and it is possible that the Negroid looking features are derived from a pre-Dravidian rather than an Oceanic Negro strain. There is, however, something about their canoe culture which is very suggestive of Melanesia. There is a long-standing association with Moulmein in Burma which taken with the Nicobarese language may argue a Talaing connection.

Their language is Mon-Khmer and their women seem able to hold and to devise property, but the laws of inheritance are obscure. No one seems to know much about them, and as the principal property is in cocoanut trees not in land, while personal valuables are buried or thrown into the sea with the owner, inheritance in land is of minor importance. Nothing seems to be known, either, of clans or exogamy, and marriage laws are reported to be almost non-existent. At any rate no one could tell me what they were, and as no existing European in the Nicobars knows any Nicobarese at all, it is not surprising that there is much ignorance of their customs. For ordinary business affairs so many Nicobarese know a little Malay, Burmese, Hindustani or English, that a knowledge of their own language has not hitherto been found essential to administration.

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<sup>10</sup> "The Peguans ascribe.....their Religion to a Dog and a China woman, which escaped shipwreck", Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, V, V.

## II. GODDESS BHATTARIKĀ.

BY KALIPADA MITRA, M. A., and GHANASHYAM DAS, B. A.  
(London).

The temple of Goddess Bhāṭṭarika is situated on the Mahanadi river in the picturesque State of Baramba in Orissa. We reached this State from Dhenkanal whose Chief very kindly placed at our disposal the necessary conveyance.

About six miles to the south of the headquarters of the Baramba State lies a pretty village of the name of Sasanga which glories in the temple of Bhāṭṭarika. It is cosily situated at the foot of a small hill in the surrounding jungle of the Mahanadi river, across the wide sandy expanse of whose bed stretching over nearly two miles to the west it describes the celebrated Nilamadhava temple lifted as it were in the space and commanding a superb view on the other bank of the river.

Bhāṭṭarika is the female form of Bhāṭṭaraka—an expression so familiar to scholars dealing with inscriptions forming a part of the resounding titles of the kings of India. Cf. "*Mahārāja-dhirāja Parame S'vara Parama Bhāṭṭaraka Parama-Māhes'vara or Parama-Saugata so and so*". and also the title of Coragāṅga-Samara-mukhāṇeka-ripu-darppa-marddana-bhujā-bala-parakrama parama-māhes'vara parama-bhāṭṭaraka mahārājādhirāja etc. (See *J. A. S. B.* p. 110. Vol. LXXII).

The male form *Bhāṭṭaraka* and the female form *Bhāṭṭarika* occur in the names of gods and

goddesses in the Vajrayana cult of Buddhism. We get the names of Ārya-Mañjusrī-Bhaṭṭāraka, Vajrā-nanga-bhaṭṭāraka, Vajratikṣṇa-bhaṭṭāraka, and Ārya-tārābhaṭṭārikā, in the *Sadhanamālā*. There is no doubt that goddess Bhaṭṭārikā of Baramba was in origin a Vajrayāna deity, round whom clustered many animistic practices described below. Most probably there was a fusion of the two cults—the earlier animistic cult of the aborigines associated with crude and undeveloped Śakti worship, and the later cult of Vajrayāna and the many points of contact between these, made the coalescence an easy process. Bhaṭṭārikā therefore means the “Great venerable Lady”. Her other name is Bṛhadambā, prakṛtised into *Baḍambā*, meaning the “Great Mother”, the component parts being Bada, (Great), and amba, (mother). She has given her own names to the State which sounds *Baḍambā* as it should, and not Baramba.

In his account of the “Ruling Chief, Nobles and Zemindars of India” Mr. A. Vadivelu (published by G. C. Logandhum Bros, Madras) says (p. 400): “Malakishore Rant enlarged his dominions to the west up to Ogalpur on the northern bank of the Mahanadi. He discovered from the adjoining forest the temple of the goddess Bhotarika known also as Bruhadamba or Bardamba (great mother) out of reverence to her he designated the State Baramba. It is still believed by the mass that Baramba is the territory of the great mother Bhatarika”.

Sasanga and Ogalpur are neighbouring villages.

We took off our shoes before entering the courtyard. Our eyes fell on a temple of Siva. On facing the temple on the left hand of the entrance we found in the wall a figure of a male deity, called by the priests, Bhairava. The male characteristics are prominent, a bull looks up and almost touches the testicles. There are, as usual, two flying figures on the top. There is a small male figure near the foot. He wears a tiara on the crown. He has six hands—the right middle holding a *ḍamaru*. On the right side of the entrance there is another male figure called again a Bhairava. These two figures are in black stone probably indicating the workmanship of the twelfth or the thirteenth century.

In front of the temple there are two figures of bull made of rude stone. We saw on the western side of the wall two vermilion-laden images covered over with a piece of cloth just over the outlet of water from the temple—called Pārvatī and Parames'vara.

Advancing a few steps towards the temple we found the *Yupa*, the sacrificial post to which victims are tied before they are decapitated. On the *Mahāṣṭamī* day (at the time of the S'aradiyā pūjā) a large number of goats and buffaloes and even fowls are sacrificed.

In the *Mahana* (properly *mohana*, contraction of *Jagamohana*, the Orissan version of *maṇḍapa*) or the first entrance to main shrine (*vimāna*) of the goddess we found on a pedestal the *gajasimha*

motif—so familiar to visitors of the temples in all parts of Orissa—of masonry work, in front of which were impressions of two feet. On the eastern side of the pedestal were two pairs of *Gajasimha*. On the northern side were some carved stone images.

Then comes what is known in these parts as the *Makas'āta*, just in front of the main shrine. This is the *antarāla* over the top lintel of which were the images of *navagraha*, the nine planets, which will be noticed in a similar position in numerous temples or sub-temples. e. g. at Jaggarnath, and Bhuvaneswar, and indeed in the temples of other parts of India, not excluding Bengal. As we face the shrine we see that on the right hand side of the wall is a figure of Bhairava and on the left hand an image of Sūryya riding his seven horses.

The image of the goddess is in black stone but on account of her trappings in which she was practically swathed and the obscurity of the holy gloom we could not discern clearly her lineaments and therefore no attempt could be made for a possible identification. The structure of the temple follows the general model of temples in these parts. It is difficult to say from the outward look of the temples which deity is their occupant—Visṇu, Ś'iva or Ś'akti.

The officiating priests of the goddess are not Brahmans, but known as the *Mālīs* in these parts, and on enquiry it appears that they are not what their name imports, i.e., they are not gardeners or flower-suppliers by profession although at one

time they might have been so. Their profession is now priesthood. They are of the S'ūdra caste, and their status even in this caste would be ordinarily low but for the adventitious importance it gains by the worship of deities.

There is an interesting legend associated with the worship of the goddess. The *pūjā* in autumn is held with much ceremony, and lasts the whole period of what is known as the *navarātra*. It begins with the *Amāvasyā* day, viz. the *Mahālayā*. The popular legend is that the deity herself brings an invisible being as her human sacrifice and keeps him in the cave in the hill opposite to the temple. They say that footprints are left on the sand near the cave which indicates the presence of the intended victim near it. The *pūjāris* (or *sevakas*) had therefore to supply an extra *bhōga* (offering) for him till the *Aṣṭamī* day. In the meanwhile from the *Amāvasyā* to the *Aṣṭamī* day big stones are hurled at the temple by some invisible super-human agency. People from all parts of Orissa throng here and the goddess dissolves their doubts and grants their wishes. On the *Aṣṭamī* night on the *kālsi* the afflatus of the goddess (*Ubhā*) descends, and thus possessed of her spirit he represents her and answers questions of her enquirers and supplicants. This is technically called *mudā kuḥā*. The questions are of course unknown to anybody, and the satisfactory answers to these indicate divine interference. When the interrogations are over and the suitors are pleased that their boons are granted, the *kālsi* holds a bill-hook (*kāṭāri*) weapon of the goddess in his hand and runs



up the hill in an incredibly short period of time through bushes and briars interlocked with tough wooden creepers and gains the top. Ordinarily one would normally take at least half an hour to do the job. And this is done in thick darkness. The *kalsi* then forces his passage into the cave and enters it though there is hardly any room for two men there and kills the supposed human victim in the cave and distributes his flesh amongst the seven sisters of the goddess, viz., Vikatā, Saṅkatā, Ugrachandā, etc.

It is further told that in some ancient time one *kalsi* possessed by the deity came back to himself while entering the cave. When the sacrificial flesh was distributed, automatically one more share was allotted. This strange incident led to the discovery of the presence of another man to represent the goddess, for the *kalsi* was dispossessed and therefore did not represent the deity. He was adjured by the sisters of the goddess not to breathe a word of it outside, for disobedience would cost him his life—his heart would split. The Raja was apprised of this incident and an anxious curiosity got the better of him. But the *kalsi* mindful of the terrible curse would not part his lips and publish the secret. The Raja, however, was insistent and promised to support the family of the *kalsi* ever afterwards if he came by death as a punishment of his sacrilegious breach of faith to the deity. The secret the Raja knew, and sure enough split the heart of the *kalsi*.

The above legend indicates the character of the worship of the deity. The incident of throwing of stones, at the temple by some superhuman agency

shows intolerance of shrines and temples as habitation of the deity who was jealous of any attempt of divesting her of her wild and sombre majesty, and sylvan horror by the intrusion of human and civilising art. We were told by a *sādhu* living in solitary isolation in the Saptas'ayya or Satsajia hills in the Dhenkanal State that all attempts to build a temple or shrine there were frustrated by some invisible agency, probably because Jena Thakurānī, the presiding deity of the hills who has herself no shrine—was intolerant of it. Jena Thakurānī has no Brahman priest. But her priest, the Dehuri or *pūjaka* is some man of aboriginal descent. The other incident of the goddess choosing for herself her own human victim invisible to the grosser eyes of the mortals is reminiscent of the very ancient offering of human sacrifice to the Mother Goddess coming down from immemorial times. It is well known to scholars that the sacrifice that pleased the deity best was the human animal, and in subsequent times substitutes for him were offered, viz., the buffalo, the goat, the pig, the fowls, etc. A reference to Bishop Whitehead's *Village Gods of South India* or Dr. Elmore's *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism* besides other works will amply prove this contention. This is not the place for discoursing on the cult of the Mother Goddess. Suffice it to say that this cult was not originally peculiar to the Aryans who were patriarchal in religion and government. The *S'akti* worship was imported from the Non-Aryans. The worship of



the goddess seems to have been very ancient indeed and was prevalent long before the foundation of the Baramba State. Subsequently it coalesced with the worship of the Vajrayāna deity. Malakishore Raut, a former Chief of the present line, discovered her temple in the adjoining forest. There is no tradition as to when the temple was built. A long time must have elapsed before her worship as an animistic spirit or deity had begun and then undergone a fusion with the Vajrayāna deity. The descending of the spirit on the *kalsi* and the oracular declarations all point to this direction. The priests themselves were low caste men originally, and their rise in the status is wholly attributable to their ministrations to the deity. Evidently they were non-Aryans in origin but subsequently admitted as low form Aryans, or Sūdras. And this agrees well with other cases of animistic worship in other parts of India where the officiants are low caste people. The offering of fowls hateful to the upper grades of the Hindus is another indication of aboriginal worship.

There are four other temples dedicated to S'iva, viz Somanātha, Kapilesvara, Dhavales'vara and Rames'vara. It has been claimed that sage Paras'urāma fixed this spot as his abode for meditation, and a big boulder is still pointed out as the relic of his *āsana* or seat. The south of India was regarded as being the scene of the sage still known as the Paras'urāma kshetra. It is not quite clear what this association of this place with the name of the sage exactly means.

The priests of the temple of Singhanātha (Simhanātha) and the goddess (S'akti) near it are also the Mālis. The cult of S'iva was not originally Aryan. The belief that for worshipping Mahādeva no Brāhman minister is necessary but anybody—any caste—may worship him shows disregard of Aryan exclusiveness and points to the Non-Aryan character of the worship. The fact of the Mālis worshipping him here and indeed in all parts of Orissa seems to lend an additional strength to the theory. \*

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\* Read before the Anthropological Section of the *Indian Science Congress* at its Seventeenth annual sessions, on the 4th January, 1930.

## MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

### I. SOME VILLAGE DEITIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF KHURDA.

About two miles from Khurda in the district of Puri are the Varunai hills where in a small temple are placed two rude images of black stone, called goddesses Varunāi and Karunāi, sitting together. The goddesses are four-armed, but both of them have since lost a pair of arms each. Goddess Varunāi holds in the right arm a *S'aṅkha* and in the left a *ḍamaru*, while goddess Karunāi holds in the right arm a *Vajra* and in the left, an *ankus'a*. Underneath the seat we found on the right side a lion and on the left a votary in the attitude of adoration. The lion is the vehicle of the Hindu goddess Durgā, one of whose names is *Simhavāhinī*. It was the vehicle of Vajrayāna deities as well, e. g., of Mañjughosa, Mañjuvara, Simbanāda, Ratnasambhava and Vagīs'vara. But the names of the goddesses appear to be unfamiliar to both the Hindu and the Vajrayāna pantheons. At any rate they are now worshipped as Hindu goddess, the *pujari* being a Brāhmin. A great *mela* is held here for 3 or 4 days on the occasion of Rajasamkrānti festival, occurring on the last day of Jaiṣṭh. The Earth goddess is supposed to be in menses, just as in Bengal she is supposed to be at the time of Ambuvāchī, (7th Aśāḍha) on which occasion a great festival is held at the temple of Kamākhyā-devī in Assam, who is regarded to be in her course. Raja sāmkrānti

is practically unknown in Bengal and Bihar, but is regarded to be of sufficient importance in Orissa to merit a local holiday.

In the Record room of the Collector of Cuttack among the Settlement papers of 1841 I found mention of the holding of a small rent free land having been confirmed by Government to the *Sevāit* of the Grāma Devatī Varunāi Thākuraṇi in *mouja* Varunavindhya, *pargana* Jajpur. The *Sevāit* or the *marāfatdar* was Ekādasi Varik. Varik is a barber. As the worshipper is a non-Brāhman, I suspect that this goddess was originally a non-Hindu deity. On examining the names of the *grama devatis* of Orissa I find that many of them were Vajrayāna deities in origin, e. g. Jāgulai (Jāngulī), Vāsulai, Pansāi (Parna-s'avari), Vajara—Mahākala—Thākuraṇi, etc. The worshippers of these as well as other village deities of Orissa are non-Brāhmans, often belonging to low castes, e.g. Vārik, Mali, Bhopā, Chintapatrī etc. It is certain that the last three were non-Aryans, probably belonging to the Savara tribe. Throughout Orissā these people are the worshippers of S'iva at least who is confessed to be a non-Aryan deity in origin, but who now occupies a prominent place in the Hindu pantheon. No orthodox Brāhman in Orissā would therefore eat the *prasāda* of S'iva, generally prepared by these low caste men, who are (or at least were) both *bhogapandās* and *pujāpandās*. A local *smṛuti* has grown up forbidding Brāhmans to eat S'iva's

*prasāda*. Exception is made only in favour of Bhuvanes'vara, as the deity is Harihara mūrti, and out of deference to Hari (Viṣṇu), Hara (S'iva) is tolerated.

We know from the story of the evolution of deities, that though many of them were in origin non-Aryan and had non-Aryan votaries, yet in the course of time owing to their supposed strong benevolent or malevolent influences they rose to high places in the pantheon and secured Brāhman votaries to do them *devoir*. I believe that Varunāi (with Karunāi, probably her sister) was in origin a non-Hindu deity, probably of Vajrayāna cult, but gradually acquired much influence so as to secure Brāhman votaries and to be able to give her name to the hills where she dwells.

We next came to the Pandavagharā hills—another portion of the same hill range. At the foot of the hill we saw a rude shapeless red stone overlaid with vermillion, the top being covered with cloth, and a garland of *nymphæ* (Kumuda flowers) hanging about her showing devotion paid to her recently by the Pujari who is a Mali. She is regarded as guarding the rude pathway to the hill, whose presiding deity she is. Her name is Jangala Bhūasunī (young married woman) or "the Woodland Beauty".

About 8 miles to the west of Khurda is the hot-spring of Hatakes'vara in a village of the name of Bagmari. There is a temple of Hatakes'vara Mahadeva...In his honour a *mela* is held there in the month of Magha. This *mela* lasts for

several days and even more than a month if the health of the locality so permits. There is a reservoir which collects the water of the hot spring and is provided with outlets to prevent stagnation. Barren women come to the place and offer prayers for obtaining offspring. In the reservoir people throw coconuts, betelnuts, and other fruits and flowers as offerings. Barren women get up early in the morning, at about 3 A. M. and in the dark make a search in the reservoir, and whatever thing comes to hand—nut, or fish, or frog—they eat in the belief that they would be blessed with offspring within a year. Children born as an outcome of this procedure are named *Hatakes'vara* after the deity.

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## II. NOTE ON A RECENT INSTANCE OF THE FOLK-BELIEF ABOUT FOUNDATION SACRIFICES FROM CHOTANAGPORE.

Men on a low plane of culture believe that the foundations of a city, a building or a bridge cannot be stable and lasting unless and until a spirit-guardian is told off to keep watch and ward over it and thereby ensure its stability, which is disturbed by malevolence of angry earth-spirits. This object is attained by sacrificing or immolating a human victim at its foundation, so that the spirit of the victim becomes the required guardian. This custom is known as the wide-spread practice of offering foundation sacrifices. This custom has been prevalent almost all over the world since the most ancient times.

In India this custom has taken the form of a belief which is current among the illiterate and uncultured folks of the Indian countryside namely that no body is able to erect a bridge over a large river until the angry river-godling or river goddessling is propitiated by the sacrifice of a human being at the foundation of the structure. But, as the experiments of modern Engineering Science have rendered the building of such bridges over large rivers practicable the aforementioned illiterate folks explain that modern engineers are able to build these bridges after sacrificing human beings to propitiate the godlings or goddess-lings who preside over these rivers. It is for this reason that, whenever important bridges

are about to be built, mischievous and ignorant persons spread false reports to the effect that the engineers require human victims for the purpose of either burying them alive or of slaughtering them at the foundations of these bridges for rendering them firm and stable. The taking of each decennial census has also been the occasion for spreading, in the remotest parts of the country-side, of false rumours to the effect that the "The Government required victims to be sacrificed at some bridge or other buildings or that a toll of pretty girls was to be taken to reward the soldiery after some war." \*

They further raise the alarm that for the purpose of supplying their demands for human victims, human children are being decoyed by their agents. These false scares have resulted in riots which have caused much bloodshed. Such false scares were spread on the occasion of the building of the Hooghly Floating Bridge at Calcutta, The Dufferin Bridge between Hoogly and Naihati, the Sarah Bridge over the Padma river and of the Benares waterworks. To mention a few modern instances, I may mention that the Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta are building a new dock at Kidderpore, in the south of Calcutta. Some mischievous persons spread a false report, on Monday and Tuesday the 9th and 10th June, 1924, to the effect that the Port Commissioners were demanding children for burying

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\* Vide Crooke's *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and folklore of Northern India*. (Allahabad Edition, 1894). Page—297.



them alive at the foundations of the new dock-yard at Kidderpore (a suburb of Calcutta) in order to make the same stable and firm, and that Punjabi drivers of motor cars and taxi-cars were decoying children for the purpose of making the latter over to the engineers in charge of the construction of the new Dock. Under the influence of this false scare, the hooligans and rowdies of Calcutta kicked up rows in Kidderpore and Kurreyā, attacked the Punjabi drivers of taxi-cars and killed several of them. Many of the rioters were arrested and tried before the Presidency Magistrates of Calcutta.

In June, 1924, a similar scare also prevailed at Patna, in South Bihar, in connection with the building of a bridge. Some mischievous persons there spread a false alarm to the effect that the Government was requiring human victims for sacrificing them at the foundations of this bridge and that for this purpose it had hired several sacrificial posts (*hari-kats*). Acting under the influence of this false alarm, the rowdies of the city of Patna and neighbouring villages attacked strangers and maltreated them under the belief that they were decoying the children for making them over to the engineers in charge of the construction of the bridge. In order to allay the alarm of the public, the District Magistrate of Patna proclaimed by beat of drum that the scare was false.

The same belief in the efficacy of the foundation-sacrifice for stabilising the foundations

of newly erected bridges, is also current among the aborigines of Chota Nagpur: A colony of these aborigines lives at *Bhalabasa*, which is a suburb of Jamshedpore, the head-quarters station of the subdivision of Dhalbhum, in the District of Singbhum in Chotanagpore. Recently (May, 1929) the Bengal Nagpur Railway Co. had been erecting a new bridge over the river *Kharkai* in Jamshedpore. Some mischievous persons spread a rumour to the effect that the goddessling of the river had become angry at the erection of this bridge, that human sacrifices were required for propitiating her wrath, and that, for this purpose, children were being kidnapped. This scare spread among the illiterate inhabitants of the town and of its suburbs, as also among the aforementioned aborigines. Many innocent wayfarers and other persons have been suspected to be the kidnappers of these children and have been attacked and maltreated; and one of them has been beaten to death by these rowdies, as will appear from the following testimony of the "*Behar Herald*" weekly newspaper, (published from Bankipur), of Saturday the 18th May, 1929:—

"Jamshedpur is in the grip of a wild kidnapping scare. The B. N. R. Co. is building a bridge over the river *khorkai* alongside the existing one (which suffered damage by the floods of 1927) and there is a wild and unfounded rumour going round the town that children are being kidnapped for sacrifice at the foot of this bridge in order to propitiate the river. Some innocent persons have

been assaulted on mere suspicion. The scare has been the cause of the murder of one of the Union Volunteers, named Syed Ali Munshi, who went for picketting in the *bustees*. Mistaking him for a kidnapper a band of aboriginals from a neighbouring *bustee* of *Bhālabāsā* attacked the poor Volunteer and brutally assaulted him. The man was killed outright. His dead body was taken in a procession to the burial ground and a large body of men and Union executives attended the funeral."

Similar scare arising from the folk-belief about the efficacy of foundation-sacrifices for propitiating the angry river-goddessling and, thereby, stabilising the foundations of newly erected bridges occurred several times in the Madras Presidency, the last one that I know of occurring in the city of Madras itself was in 1920.

S. C. Mitra.

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### III. NOTE ON A RECENT INSTANCE OF EXORCISM FROM THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

Men on a low plane of culture labour under the impression that they are surrounded on all sides by an invisible band of spirits who are ever on the alert to confer on them some benefits or to do some mischief to them. They have the power of either causing them misfortunes or of inflicting on them all kinds of diseases and ailments. These are the doings of those spirits who are of a malevolent disposition. As a corollary to this belief they also labour under the impression that all kinds of sickness can be cured or got rid of if they would propitiate and thereby gain the favour of these wicked beings by the offering to them of suitable sacrifices or by the performance of proper rites and ceremonies. There is a certain class of professional men among them who are believed to be well-versed in the arts of sorcery and charming. They therefore believe that it is these practitioners of the magical art that can expel or drive away these mischief-mongering spirits by means of their spells and incantations. Sir James Campbell says that "The unwilling is the spirit-caused", that is to say, the unwished for diseases and ailments are caused by spirits which enter the victim's body and that the remedy for curing these diseases is the exorcism or expulsion of these disease-spirits by flogging

the patient so that the said spirits might leave the victim's bodies and pass on to some other recipients, which are then driven away or destroyed. These practices are very commonly practised in different parts of the Bombay Presidency.

A remarkable instance of the practice of exorcising away disease-spirits by flogging the patients has been recorded by Mr. R. E. Enthoven, who says that while he was a junior Magistrate at Dharwar, in the Bombay Presidency, about 30 years ago (in 1894 A. D.) he enquired into a case of murder in which a girl named Giddwa was killed under the undermentioned circumstances:—The girl complained of a pain in her back, which was supposed to be caused by an evil spirit named *Uezzi* which had obsessed her. Thereupon a Muhammadan exorcist named Tomal Din and two Hindu exorcists named Mudewala and Adevi were sent for. These men at first made the girl lie flat on the ground and began to trample and hop and skip on her body. Then they beat the girl with a stick asking the evil spirit *Uezzi* to leave her. Being unable to bear the pain of the beating the girl fled crying out that the spirit was leaving her. Then more beating was administered. The result of this was that the girl became senseless and breathed her last. \*

Traces of this animistic belief still survive among the people of the countryside in Southern and Eastern Bengal, as also among the Hindus in

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\* *The Folklore of Bombay* by R. E. Enthoven C. I. E., Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1924. pp. 257-58.

the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Recently two men in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh killed a village priest and a sweeper under the belief that they had failed to exorcise away a spirit, whom they had undertaken for a remuneration to expel by means of their spells, but that they having failed to do so, were suspected by their employers to have colluded with the malevolent being, as will appear from the following testimony of the Calcutta Daily "*Statesman*" of Sunday, the 25th August, 1929 :—

"Justices Young and Sen of the Allahabad High Court have commuted the sentences of death passed on two brothers, Harchanda and Harkesh, to transportation for life.

"The two prisoners killed a village priest and a sweeper in the following circumstances :—Obsessed with the idea that their troubles were due to the spirit of one of their relatives, they engaged the village priest and some sweepers to exorcise the spirit. In this the priest and the sweepers failed. The two brothers concluded that the men whom they had engaged to exorcise the spirit had acted in collusion with the spirit and made up their minds to do away with the suspected men.

"Dalip, the priest, and Nihal, one of the sweepers, were decoyed to a lonely spot near an altar of the goddess *Kali*, where they were done to death. Their bodies were thrown into a well where they were noticed by the villagers the next day."



The most noteworthy feature in the foregoing account is that the two brothers decoyed the village priest and the sweeper to an altar of the goddess *Kali* and, after killing them, they threw their dead bodies into a neighbouring well. Now the question arises,—‘Why were the exorcisers taken to a shrine of the goddess *Kali* and killed there’?

The answer to this question is a twofold one and may be shortly stated as follows:—

(1) The two brothers suspected that the exorcisers, instead of exorcising away the offending spirit, were colluding with that invisible being and were thereby protracting their troubles (whether physical or worldly—it is not stated in the account). This aroused their anger and in order to wreak their vengeance on them they killed these suspected persons.

(2) Spirits and ghosts are the myrmidions of the goddess *Kali*. The Hindus firmly believe that if this goddess is propitiated by the offering of sacrifices, notably of human sacrifices, she is so much gratified that she controls or puts a stop to the malevolent activities of her mischievous followers. Acting under this belief, the two brothers appear to have killed the village priest and the sweeper and presented them as offerings to the goddess *Kali* in order that she might be so far pleased as to call back the spirit which was inflicting troubles upon them. I am inclined to believe that this is the motive which led the two brothers to kill the exorcisers.

S. C. Mitra, M. A., B. L.

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## ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

The Sixth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at Patna in December 1930, and the Editor of this Journal was appointed President of the Section of Ethnology, Mythology, Folk-lore and Religion. The following are abstracts of the Presidential Address and other papers read at the Conference.

1. *Presidential Address* of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy. The President began with an account of the anthropological work done in India in the shape of publications either in book form or in the form of Magazine-articles since the inauguration of the Conference ten years ago. He next referred to the startling discoveries recently made of the wonderful prehistoric remains on the Indus Valley "which hold out promises of a rich harvest of materials for re-writing the cultural and racial history of India and possibly of some other countries as well". He then pointed out that "although it is not given to most of us to work either in the rich sites of long-forgotten cultures of our pre-historic past or even among the living cultures of primitive jungle tribes of the present day, we all of us have at our own doors equally good substitutes. We have within easy reach of everyone of us fields for anthropological study, no less fertile and fascinating, though much less pretentious and imposing". He pointed out that—

"Wherever he may happen to live or move

about in India and whatever may be his occupation or rank in life, the earnest student can seldom lack opportunities for observing, recording and studying certain classes of facts and phenomena of great anthropological interest,—for such facts and phenomena are found wherever human society exists. These are the traditional customs, rites and beliefs including stories and myths embodying such beliefs, to which the name 'folklore' was first applied in 1846 by W. J. Thomas. Such customs, rites and beliefs, may belong either to individuals among a people, or to families, clans or other groups among them, or to inhabitants of particular localities, and they stand on a lower intellectual level than and are often inconsistent with the orthodox or officially recognized customs, rites and beliefs of the people in question. The use of the term 'folklore' is not now restricted to survivals of traditional customs, rites and beliefs of a past age lingering among the backward classes in civilized nations, but is also extended to folk arts and crafts and other 'new manifestations of the folklore spirit' both among civilized and uncivilized peoples.

"This study of the folk-mind as it expresses itself in folk-customs, folk-rites, folk-beliefs, folk-tales and folk arts and crafts, is not a mere idle pastime with students of folklore. It is pursued primarily for the light which folklore throws on the early intellectual evolution of human societies, or what may be called the Pre-history of the human mind."

In support of his statement that "Indian students are in a most advantageous position to advance our science by the collection and study of folklore before much of such lore is lost and forgotten" he said,— "Though a good deal has already decayed or disappeared, yet even now folk-lore materials meet us in abundance at every step of our journey in life." "Folk-rites yet form a not negligible element in the ceremonies attending a Hindu's birth and childhood, puberty and marriage, disease and death. We light upon folk-customs and folk-rites, folk-beliefs and folk-art in our own homes, in our neighbours' houses, in the lanes and the streets and in the market-place. Our female-folk, particularly those of the older generation, in all grades of society, not to speak of men and women of the more backward and unenlightened classes of our population, may be said to live in an atmosphere of folk-lore from the cradle to the grave. Nor are the better classes and our educated men altogether free from traditional folk-observances and folk-practices. Thus, we are following folk-customs when on rising in the morning we are careful to avoid seeing the face or uttering the name of a miserly person or a particularly unlucky person or a childless person, or when in the morning if we see anyone rubbing only one eye we ask him to rub both eyes, or when we avoid seeing our faces in a broken mirror or eating salt left in another's plate, shaving on the day of the week on which we were born, or jumping over a sleeping person or attending a call of nature with our faces to the Sun or

with wooden shoes on, or, while starting on a journey, we avoid eating plantains or meeting a barber or washerman or a oilman (*Kalu*), or when in the evening happening—to look at the sky and finding—that only one star has appeared we do not take away our eyes until we see another, or, as in some places, three more stars.”

He said that such instances would be unending, and many instances of omens, good as well as bad, will readily occur to the minds of the audience. “And yet, omens, as you know, form but an infinitesimally small fraction of the wealth of our Indian folklore. Everyone of us daily comes across instances not only of traditional beliefs in omens and dreams and various other classes of traditional beliefs, customs and practices which the advanced section of the community now despise as superstitions, but also of folk-sayings, folk-tales, folk-songs and ballads, and other arts and crafts of the folk that have been either handed down by tradition or have developed and are developing among the backward sections of our people under the influence of folk-ways of thinking and feeling and which though not actually despised, are regarded with amused toleration for their quaintness, or patronised for affording entertaining diversion. Neglected in this way much of our interesting folklore, is getting lost or degraded or attenuated or is being transformed through transference to new sets of objects or through amalgamation with other practices or beliefs.

"What is now essential for the development of our science is, in the first place, to secure as accurate records as possible of such folklore materials as are still available. A systematic and classified collection and careful recording of different classes of existing folklore material, district by district, and *thana* area by *thana* area, as is being done for the county areas in England, and for other local areas in other parts of Europe and in America, are the first and most imperative tasks are that await students of Indian folklore.

"The next task to which we have got to apply ourselves is the careful analysis of each folk-custom or folk-rite or folk-tale into its component elements. Such an analysis will reveal that not only are different groups of the folklore of a people referable to different levels of culture but that even the same folk-custom, folk-tale, myth or legend may be composed of inconsistent elements which can only be explained as survivals from different stages of intellectual development. A few of them may represent a very crude and primitive stage of thought; others may represent a comparatively higher level of thought and culture; and some may betoken a still further advance in culture, though yet below the general level of the culture of the higher classes of the people."

By way of illustration he referred to some classes of folk-lore (particularly the *stri-achar* or female folk-rites) of the higher Hindu castes of Bengal and compared them with analogous rites and customs



among some primitive 'aboriginal' tribes of India with a reference to which alone could the true significance and original purpose of the Bengali Hindu rites be adequately understood.

After detailing the laborious method by which the folklorist has to trace "the genealogy of folklore" or the ethnic elements in folk-custom and folk-beliefs, the President said, "Those of us who cannot spare the time or energy to devote themselves to the study of origins of folk-lore by the laborious process of analysis and comparison, may, at any rate, help forward the progress of the science by the careful collection of such folklore as is easily accessible to them".

Among other fruitful fields for anthropological study which lie within easy reach of every earnest student of the science the author only briefly indicated one more fascinating subject for such study to which any Indian student may apply himself, at least in the intervals of other business. This is a study of the sociology of what are known as the 'Depressed Classes' of India. Without entering into a discussion of the ethnology or sociology of any of these interesting communities, some of whom are now putting forward claims to Aryan ancestry, the author only observed that a few of our depressed communities with no social organization worth the name present features even more primitive than those of some of our aboriginal jungle-tribes, whereas a larger number of these communities present cultural features of diverse varieties and grades

which form interesting connecting links between the customs and beliefs of our various aboriginal tribes and those of the higher Hindu castes". He concluded his address as follows:—"With these backward communities of different grades and varieties of culture at our very doors and with vast stores of folklore within doors, so to say, the Indian anthropologist stands in a most favourable position for the study and advancement of his science. In fact, few countries, if any, in the world can provide such rich and varied materials for the study *in situ* of the different stages in the slow and laborious developement of human thought and culture from the lowest depth of savagery to a very high, if not the highest, stratum of civilization. And no Indian student of Anthropology can reasonably complain of lack of opportunities for advancing the science through suitable study and research. If he lacks the means and opportunities for exploring ancient sites to study the prehistory of Indian Man by digging up human fossils and implements and artefacts of the Stone and Copper ages, he cannot surely lack opportunities for unravelling the prehistory of Indian thought and culture as revealed in folklore; if he lacks the opportunities for pursuing fieldwork in Anthropology among our primitive jungle tribes, he can surely find no less interesting 'subjects for anthropological investigation among the depressed classes' of different grades of culture some of whom are almost his next-door neighbours".

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**I. Are the Gotras and Pravaras of Ksatriyas the same as those of the Brahmans?** *By M. L. Bhargava, Major, I. M. S.*

From a consideration of relevant passages of the Rig-Veda, the Sutras and the Purāṇas, the author of this article comes to following conclusions :—

The Ksatriyas and Vaisyas are not descendants of the first known ancestors of the Brahmans, either four, seven or eighteen. The ancestors of the Brāhmaṇs before adopting the priestly profession, were members of families, who later formed the Ksatriya order, if not the Vaisya as well. Before the division of the Indo-Aryans into the different Varnas all of them must have been 'common people' or 'general public' or, in other words, 'Vais'ya'. With the progress of culture the most powerful and capable families amongst them must have formed a sort of combined, political, military and religious aristocracy. Still later when the military duties of the heads of these families became more arduous and occupied most of their time the more scholarly and peace-loving member of the same families were told off to take up the priestly functions, and thus by degrees the priestly class got differentiated from the warrior class. Bhrigu, Angira, Atharvan, Vasistha, Kaś'yapa, Agestya and Atri,—the pioneers of the priestly order,—must have been born in one or other of these aristocratic families, though we do not know the names of their parents and ancestors in all cases. It could thus be fairly safely asserted

that the Brāhmaṇs are descendants of Ksatriya ancestors who in their turn are descendants of Vais'ya progenitors, both of them being specialised sections of the general Aryan public.

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2. **The Kayasthas.**—By Pandit R. M. Shāstrī, *Sahityāchārya, Kavya-Vedānta-tīrtha, Shāstrī, M. A., M. O. L., Lecturer in Sanskrit, Allahabad University.*

In this paper the author has collated a mass of literary evidence to explain the meaning and origin of the Kayasthas. This evidence consists of—

(1) *Ksemendra's Works.* He cites the following evidence to determine the exact sense of the word 'Kayastha':—

*Kalāvīlāsa* (V. 1-18, 39-46; IX. 52).

*Das'āvatāra-charita* (VII. 280; VIII. 822; X. 12 & 13).

*Samaya-mātrika* (V. 63; VI. 13; VII. 21, 45; VIII. 43, 108).

*Chatur-varga-samgraha* (II. 14).

*Darpa-dalana* (II. 49, 51, 54).

*Des'opades'a* (VIII. 5-7).

*Narma-mālā* (major part of the book).

(2) *Lokaprakāś'a*, too, though now denied to be a work of the selfsame author, may not be neglected for the present purpose. Position and function of the Kayasthas or Diviras in the state

as understood by the editor of *Narṁa-mālā* stated. Exact nature of their posts settled.

(3) *The works of Kalhaṇa and others.*

In Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* (XVIII. 42).

In Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarangīṇī*—the word 'Kāyastha' occurring no less than thirty-nine times and the word 'Kāryastha' in almost the same sense at least thrice.—A few passages (III. 489; IV. 90, 351-352; V. 175, 177, 205, 265, 431; VI. 132; VII. 38-41, 1105-6, 1169-70, 1319, 1226; VIII. 110, 131, 263-64, 473, 560-61, 570, 2383; etc.; etc.) selected for the discussion about the exact meaning of the word 'Kāyastha'.

(4) In S'rīvara's *Rājatarangīṇī* (III. 6; IV. 129), too, the word does not yet give the ethnic sense, which seems to have been associated to it in Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājatarangīṇī* (71-73).

From a consideration of all the evidence the author concluded that in various centuries and various parts of India various families of Brahmanas, Ksatriyas and Vais'yas and mainly the Brahmanas, taking to the hereditary profession of government officials of the above description, began to style themselves as Kāyasthas and had been consequently formed into what are now known as the various castes and sub-castes of Kāyasthas, which have always kept their separate entity and have never been mixed into one caste. The evidence of tradition is also quoted in support of this conclusion.

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3. Cult of Jaya Durga.—By Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, M. A.

In this paper the author describes the worship of Jayadurga as seen by him in a village in the Faridpur District in Eastern Bengal. The noticeable features of the worship are :—(1) The absence of any image, though the reference in a guide-book in the author's possession, to *prana-pratistha* (consecration of an image to vivify it) indicates the former use of an image. (2) the non-utilisation of the offerings. First comes the worship of *Sandhya* or Evening (dark-coloured, four-handed, three-eyed, middle-eyed, wearing Silk-cloth); then comes the worship of *Kshetrapala* red, (three-eyed, with matted hair and carrying the shining moon, having the glow of collyrium, holding terrible clubs mace, wearing a belt of jingling bells and ear-rings of coiled snakes, shining with a garland round the neck, wearing bright clothes, and striking terror by fearful shouts), then comes the worship of *Kokilaksha*—the fortunate lord of the South who rides a tiger and rids the devotee of his fears and does good to his body. Now comes the worship of *Jaya Durga* herself represented on a water-filled earthen pitcher. She is described as dark-coloured like the cloud, four-handed, three-eyed, terrific-looking to the enemies, rides on a lion, holds in her hands a conch, a discus, a sword and a trident, and surrounded by the gods and worshipped by the siddhas. Then follows the worship of her attendant deities, among whom the principal are *Daksineswari*, *Maghadheswari*,



and Dānavamātā. After the worship of these and other attendant deities comes the propitiation of the demons, whose name is legion and, curiously enough, includes even such deities as Visnu and mythical heroes as Bhīṣma *alias* Tālaketu! Among other names are Cnhoṭesvara (the small god), Kṛṣṇakumāra (the Black Prince), Agnimukha (the Fire-faced) Puspa-kumāra (the Flower-Prince), Jalakumāra (the Wabir-Prince), Lauha-jangha (the Iron-kneed), Dhavalākṣa (the White-eyed), Koki-lākṣa (the cuckoo-eyed), Sūkara-siras (the Bear-faced), Virālākṣa (the Cat-eyed), Dvādasa Bhrātṛ (the Twelve-Brothers), Ekajhomgā (the One-kneed), Eka-pāda (the One-legged), Tāla-ketu) (Bhīṣma), Hasti-mukha (elephant-faced), Virmukha (adverse), Vetala (goblin), Dūrmukha (ugly-face), Bhūta (ghost), Preta (departed soul), Khechara (Sky-rover), Bhuchar (land-rover), Raṇo-Kumāra (fighting youth), Chala-kumāra (deceitful Youth), Ghata-kumara (the youth of the pitcher), Yūpa-Kumāra (the youth of the sacrificial post), Māṇikya (jewel), Sūchi-mukha (needle-faced), Luṇṭha (robber), Agni (fire), Aghora (Siva), Ayūdha (weapon), Bhairava (the terrible), Eka-danta (the one-toothed), Raṇa-Pandita (expert warrior), *etc., etc.*

The method of worship is as follows:—In the small hours of the night, worship is offered on a quadrangular mystic diagram to a deity called Gopālā Hājra who is described as two-faced, two-armed, terrible, cruel, black, big, holding a net and a mace, wearing tiger-skin as an upper garment, and killing animals at all times. A swan is sacrificed to the deity Bhubaneswari cooked rice

and burnt fish are presented to Kshetrapala. Twenty-nine mystic diagrams are drawn with powdered rice on plantain leaves washed with milk. On each of the diagrams are placed offerings of boiled rice and burnt fish for Jaya Durgā. Then follow animal sacrifice and *hōmam* (oblations of Ghee &c. to Fire).

All the offerings must be thrown away and not utilised by man or woman.

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#### 4. The Cult of Bhutadamara. *By B. Bhattacharya, M. A., Ph. D.*

The original and independent Tantras are devoted to the worship of Bhūṭaḍāmara, one belonging to Hinduism and the other to Buddhism, and they describe the same god, the same Maṇḍala, and the same Sādhana for subduing a number of supernatural beings like the Bhūtinīs, Yakṣiṇīs, Kinnarīs, Nāginīs, Apsarasas etc., and get menial and other kinds of work done by them. But the form and character of the two versions differ a great deal.

On a closer comparison of the contents it is found that the Buddhist version is really the original and independent version, while the Hindu version is only a baser imitation of the Buddhist original. The deity Bhūṭaḍāmara was, therefore, originally conceived by the Buddhists, and the Hindus incorporated him in their own pantheon. There are already a great many of such borrowed

deities in the Hindu Pantheon, and Bhūtaḍāmara adds to the number. Kālī, Sarasvatī, Chinnamastā, Bhadrakālī, Tārā, and others belong to the same category.

Obviously, the cult of Bhūtadamara is associated with all varieties of Tantric rites designed for exorcising a number of supernatural beings, such as ghosts, demons, Pis'āchas, Apsarasas, and so forth. Since time immemorial both civilized and uncivilized methods are being applied to coerce such supernatural beings who are believed to be extremely powerful and capable of doing immense harm to humanity, but wonderfully susceptible to charms and mystic rites. When once pleased or coerced they are believed to do great great good to men, by providing them with their needs, wealth, palaces, luxuries and comforts.

When the Tantric Buddhists were busy making a pantheon and creating gods and goddesses of all conceivable descriptions they did not overlook this important branch of mysterious, invisible and injurious beings. They made Bhūtaḍāmara, and a number of Mantras to coerce him were associated with them. The Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra, which is in the form of Saṅgīti, was delivered before the Assembly of the Faithful by Bhagavān Mahāvajradhara. There were several important and powerful personages in the assembly among whom we can recognize the familiar figure of Mahādeva as freely interrupting the Bhagavān either with his doubts or prayers for the elucidation of difficult points.

It is not unlikely that the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra ushered into existence the cult of Bhūtaḍāmara for the first time, because it is only when a new idea is introduced into Buddhism that the necessity is felt for a new Sangīti, where Buddha is introduced in an Assembly of the Faithful and is represented as delivering a sermon containing the new idea. The Sangītis also passed through several stages of development, and it was only in the later stages that the necessity for an elaborate description of the Assembly in the beginning as an introduction was dispensed with.

The Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra where the description of the Assembly is the shortest possible seems to belong to the later stage of development, but it cannot be later than the beginning of the 8th century A. D. as it is mentioned by Vairochana Raksita (728-764 A. D.) a disciple of Guru Padmasambhava. The frequent mention of Dināras in the Tantra also shows that the Tantra cannot be very early as these Dināras were the name of an Indian coin struck in imitation of the Roman coin Denarii, the earliest reference to which is perhaps found in Amara's Lexicon. The origin of the cult of Bhūtaḍāmara may, therefore, be placed in the seventh century.

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5. **The Origin of Ornaments (Being a study of Kerala Ornaments).** *By Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti, M. A., (Dean, Faculty of Oriental Studies, Annamalai University).*

Love of ornaments is practically ingrained in the human mind. All do not however use the same kind of ornaments everywhere. Each section of people has got its own specific types of ornaments and its own mode and place of wearing them. The difference is mainly caused by differences in age, sex and nationality of the wearer. The abundance of variety in the types of ornaments and the innate craving for the use of ornaments invest the subject with more than ordinary interest and charm. How ornaments originated was first discussed by Sir William Ridgeway, Disney Professor of Archæology in the University of Cambridge, and this led to the enunciation of the Ridgeway theory of Ornaments, namely that ornaments owe their origin not to æsthetics but to magic. This theory is scrutinised in this paper with reference to the ritualistic ornaments used by the higher caste Hindus in Kerala—a scrutiny which only still further confirms the theory advanced by the late lamented Professor.

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## 6. Traces of S'akti Worship at Puri. *By Prof. N. M. Acharya, M. A.*

1. Puri, commonly called Jagannātha, is preeminently a Vishnuvite place to-day, but there are some prominent traces of Sakti worship at that place.

2. Khaṇḍagiri, Bhubaneshwar, Jajpur and Konāraka, which are places in the Puri District, do not show at any rate any preponderance of Vishnu worship.

3. Puri is claimed as a Piṭha or holy seat by the followers of Sakti, where the navel portion of the goddess fell in the place known as Virajā Kshetra. She is known as Vimala and her Bhairava is Jagannātha.

4. Outside the temple area of Jagannātha there are monumental relics which indicate an undoubted earlier preponderance of the worship of Siva and Sakti.

5. Inside the holy enclosure of Jagannātha, the temples of Vimala with her image, of Bhadrakali or Sarvamangala Kali, of Kshetrapala, (a Tantric God) and Siva Pataleshwara show at any rate the presence of objects of worship other than those of Vishnu.

6. Konāraka decorative slab, figuring the images of Durgamahisamardinī and Jagannātha, furnishes monumental evidence as to the original nature of the principal object of worship in the main temple of Puri.

7. Sacrifice of a goat before Vimala on the Ashtami day, within the holy enclosure, is tolerated by the custodians of Jagannātha evidently because it has been handed down from generation to generation.

8. Subhadra is worshipped as Durgā. *Vide* Stirling's reference to her inward worship on a Jantra diagram, as Durgā.

9. Literary evidences to show that the Durgā Mahisamardinī on the Konāraka slab was ultimately converted in to Subhadra.

10. Addition of Balarāma and Sudarshana Chakra to the main pair was easy, as the two



Parshva Devatas, usually the recognised door-keepers (Dwārapalas) of the main object of worship, came to be recognised as such.

11. Garland offered to Jagannātha is made of leaves of the Bel tree, sacred to Siva.

12. Ghaṇṭā (bell), usual accompaniment of the Siva temple is found in the Jagannātha temple, another instance of anomaly. So also the panels of the plinth of the Jagannātha temple showing defaced emblems of *trisula* (trident) and serpents coiling round the same.

13. Literary evidences to show the stages of transformation of the images.

14. Inscription of Pratāpa Rudra proscribing songs and dances in Telegu before Jagannātha and introducing songs of Gita Govinda of Jaideva, instead.

15. Association of aboriginal Savaras with the worship of Jagannātha, more suited to the Sivaite character than to the Vishnuvite one.

7. The Clash and Fusion of Cultures in Perganah Dudhi, District Mirzapur, U. P.  
By Prof. D. N. Majumdar, M. A., P. R. S., of the Lucknow University.

Perganah Dudhi, District Mirzapur, in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, is extremely important as a culture zone. Here live in the interior of forests and on the undulating plateau a large number of primitive or semi-primitive tribes and castes in perfect social harmony, evolving by

association a significant culture-complex which marks a distinct stage in the history of cultural progress. Wave after wave of immigration has disturbed the free life of the aborigines in the inaccessible jungles and mountain fastnesses but the nature of the environment and the adaptability of the original settlers have led to the assimilation and absorption of the different alien waves which indirectly have contributed to a fusion of cultures resulting in the formation of an interesting culture-complex.

The author has attempted an analysis of the different cultures in the area and has tried to determine the contribution of each to the evolution of the culture-complex.

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### 8. The Darlung Kukis of the Lushai Hills.

*(Illustrated with Lantern Slides).*

*By Prof. D. N. Majumdar, M. A., P. R. S.*

The Darlungs of Assam, probably a section of the Lushai Kuki clans who are found in the country between the Karnafuli river and its main tributary, the Tuilianpui on the west and the Tyao and Koladyne river on the east while their southern boundary is roughly a line drawn east and west through the junction of the Mat and Koladyne rivers, furnish an apt example of environmental adjustment. The present site of the Darlung clan is on the banks of a small streamlet which has its source in the Tlong river.

The author with a batch of post-graduate students was deputed last year by the University

of Lucknow to study first-hand the social and economic life of the Darlungs. The geographical environment in which the Darlungs live, and the influence exerted by it on their social and economic life have been described in detail and some of the more important socio-economic urges dictated by the habitat enumerated.

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**9. The Position of Woman in Ho Society.** *By Prof. D. N. Majumdar, M. A., P. R. S.*

This purports to be a first-hand account of the family and domestic life of the Hos of Kolhan. The author cites a number of customs which have influenced the position of woman in Ho society and has compared the lot of Ho woman with her sisters in other parts.

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**10. Sorcery and Divination in Primitive Society.** *By Prof. D. N. Majumdar, M. A., P. R. S.*

The attitude towards life displayed by the primitive people of India, when carefully analysed, reveals a system of experiences which indicate the process of mental life in savage society. The savage recognises the existence of two distinct worlds, one objective and the other subjective which regulate his life and activity and the objective is to a great extent subordinate to the subjective. In other words, the world of beings and things which he sees around him and the world of thought, created by his own imagination,

act and react in diverse ways and the resultant course of events excite an interest in the unseen powers, which like beings in the objective world, exercise a formative influence on the behaviour patterns of savage society. This seems manifest when the *modus operandi* of the witches and their doctors are considered. The witch and the witch-doctor have no definite idea about the beings supposed to people the atmosphere but proceed in a conventional way to interpret all human activities and processes of nature as resulting from a course of events in savage society whose causal connection they seldom dispute.

The author has attempted to explain the *modus operandi* of sorcerors and witch-doctors in different primitive tribes of India by citing actual demonstrations of sorcery and divination to corroborate the above hypothesis.

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## 11. The Economic Life of the Hos. By D. N. Majumdar, M. A., P. R. S.

This is also a first-hand account of the economic life of the Hos among whom the author lived for sometime as a research scholar.

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## 12. Basali worship in Orissa. By Prof. Prigaranjan Sen, M. A., P. R. S.

In Bengal and elsewhere, *Basuli* is worshipped

as a manifestation of *Chandī* and in human shape. In Orissā, the goddess *Basali* has the form of a mare (*Ghōṛa mūhā Bāsuli*). A description of her worship in the month of Baisakh at Puri among the the *Keoṭas* is given. In some other localities in Orissā people offer the same worship. Basis of the worship is met with in the *Kaibarta Geeta*, written in Oṛiya, and attributed to Achyuta Das, one of the five companions of Chaitanya. The author suggests that Basuli was originally a local deity probably of Dravidian origin who was gradually transferred to the Hindu pantheon. She may be connected with Hayagrīva or allied to the goddess *Būri* worshipped in North Bengal, especially in the Rangpur District.

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13. *Ahivataroga*. By Kalipada Mitra, M. A. B. L., Monghyr.

The *Ahivatarōga* is a disease mentioned in Pali literature, the exact nature of which is uncertain. Literally it is the "snake-wind-disease", dubiously identified with Malaria or Cholera. The Kavirājes have not been able to identify it with any disease mentioned in their books. It broke out in epidemic form, killing "in regular order, flies, insects, mice, domestic fowls, swine, cattle, slaves, both male and female, and last of all the members of the household. Only those that break down the wall and flee save their lives". References quoted Jātaka and the *Aṭṭhakathas* are the

Averted in Vesali by the *Ratanasuttaparitta*. Nature of *Parittas* explained. Disease caused by evil spirits—charms to avert them—references to the *Sādhana-mālā*, and *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature in Eastern Turkistan*. Evil spirits become benevolent deities—e. g., Parnasavari, Hārīti, Ṭhākuraṇīs of Oṛissā. Explanation of escaping through the wall—reference to the practice of Angami Nagas, the Lambadis, and of Garjat chiefs of Oṛissā.

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14. The Svastika. By Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B. L., Monghyr.

The Svastika is an auspicious symbol connected with the worship of the Sun amongst the various nations of the world of great antiquity. (References—*Snmarāṅgasūtradhāra*, and *Śrīchchakṛtika*). Found on punchmarked coins in India; its relation to the Star of eight points, the Ujjain symbol, etc. which are in fact prehistoric signs found on American pottery, burial mounds in the United States, Peru, Mexico etc. Its distribution throughout the world in ancient times, in Asia, Europe and America. Its association with the Trojan symbol, the double snake symbol, etc. It is a fertility symbol, found on the lower part of of the body of the ancient Mother-goddess;—in fact, it is a phallic symbol; its connection with the snake, the fish and the dragon. Explanation of why the Hindu god of love is called Minaketana and Makaraketana. Reference to Foote's



collection of *Pre-Historic and Proto-historic antiquities, Epigraphia Indica* (Jaina Sculpture from Mathura), *Journal of Francis Buchanan*. Its association with the sun—remover of barrenness. Its meaning among the Buddhists the Jains and the Hindus—(references quoted) It is in fact a cross,—varieties of cross. Its age—Professor Elliot Smith's theory in the *Migration of Early Culture* as a megalithic (or heliolithic) symbol discussed.

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**15. The Magic of Names.** *By Kali Pada Mitra, M. A., B. L.*

References are given to Teutonic, Celtic and Egyptian Mythology showing the hesitation on the part of people to disclose their names fearing that the name may be used magically to harm the bearer of the name. This shyness and hesitancy characterise all primitive people, and savage race and tribes even at the present day. The idea is that the name is closely and mysteriously associated with the soul. Examples of such hesitation:—the Karen people of Burma, the Malayas, natives of Gippsland in Australia. Two names are given to children—one mysterious and closely kept as a secret, that which represents the soul, and the other in daily use.—The Hindus have two names—one, *rāsi* name, the other of daily use. Sanskrit injunctions placing taboo on one's name, name of preceptor, miserly man, eldest son's wife, one's father and mother, the cursed

etc. Name, image or effigy of a man, or any part of his body such as nail pairing, hairs clipped etc., used for the destruction of the bearer of the name. References:—King James I's *Demonology*, Hindu Tantric Books, the Indian Antiquary. The significance of the name illustrated from the name-giving rites,—deceased person's name—used, but not generally; children named after deities;—explanation why miser's name is a taboo. Change of name in case of ill luck;—theories of detachability of soul—external soul, double soul etc. Significance of opprobrious names to children, and simulation of sex e. g. clothing a male child in a female dress, wearing of female ornaments, perforation of the lobe of the ear etc, explained. The latter practice as old as the *Dibyaṇadāra*. The significance of the name explained by a charm in the Atharvaveda and Malaya magic.

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16. A Ceremony of Rikhran. By Kalipada Mitra, M. A., B. L.

This is an Ahom ceremony generally performed at the installation of a new king, or in case of danger, or of his victory. Holy water was poured over the king who sat in full dress on a platform underneath which the chief Bailong priest stood. The consecrated water ran down the king's body washing his sins and transferring them to the chief priest. The king gave away his clothes and ornaments to the chief priest.

Exactly the same ceremony was performed for the king of the Meitheis. Some criminal was found to take upon himself the guilt of the Raja and the Rani, who clad in fine clothes, ascend a staging erected in the bazar beneath which crouches the sin-taker. The Raja and the Rani bathe in the screened tent on the stage, and the water they use on their ablutions drops over the man below to whom they give their robe and sins.

The *Chahṛtaba* amongst the Meitheis is chosen on the last day of the old year to be the sin taker of the New year. He addresses the Raja and says: "From today will I bear on my head all thy sins, diseases, misfortunes, shame, mischiefs, all that is aimed at battle against thee, all that threatens thee, all that is bad and hurtful for thee and thy kingdom". He resembles the Tibetan scapegoat of the old year.

Reference has been given to the author's article entitled *Human Scapegoat* published in J. B. O. R. S. in 1924, where the subject is generally described.

The idea of sin transference is as old as the *Atharvaveda*. The references are given to the *Atharvaveda*, the *Taittiriya*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Maitrāyaṇī Samhita*, and also to the *Paṭi Dasa brāhmaṇa Jataka*

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# 17. Yenadis. By R. Subba Rao, M. A. L. T.

1. *Origin and Abode.* 'Yenadis' seems to be a corrupt form of Anadi, which means aboriginal. The Yenadis are a Pre-dravidian

tribe living exclusively in the coastal places extending from Nellore to Gunjam. They are a nomadic and thieving clan. They are divided into several classes according to their occupations. Thus Reddi Yenadis are cultivators who are found mostly in the Guntur District and who lead a settled and opulent life. The Kappala Yenadis are so called because they eat frogs and lead a miserable life. The Nakkala Yenadis are more enterprising and are found mostly in Godavari and Visagapatam Districts. They are so called because they look like Nakkas or foxes and they are as cunning as those animals. They are very fond of thieving and hence are classified as a criminal tribe and watched by police from place to place. All those Yenadi clans are akin to Boyas, Chinchus and Patchapas.

2. *Habitat and Dress.* They lead a nomadic life living mostly in villages at the foot of hills or forests. They live in huts which are circular and which rest on a central pillar and which contain only one gallery and no windows. A mat, a pot, and an iron axe and a few rags form their property. The dress of the males consists of a rag round the loins while the females wear a rag to cover up their breasts. Females wear garlands of wax. Beads and imitation corals round their necks, and mud bangles round their wrists and brass rings for their fingers and ears also.

3. *Occupations and Habits.* They are generally lazy but not so lazy as the Koyas. They

can at times be over-active. Basketry and rope-making, fishing, hare hunting and tortoise catching collecting forest produce, catching cobras, cutting grass and collecting drift wood, picking pockets, thieving and committing dacoities,—these are some of their most important occupations. The females generally are employed as sweepers and scavengers in all the municipal towns while children graze cattle of the villagers for a small sum. They are very dark in colour and nimble in movement. They look lean, emaciated and dirty. They are below average height with a small circular head, hollow cheeks, small and pointed nose. They shave their beards but tie their hair into a knot at the back of the head. Though lazy they are cunning, but they are not ambitious to earn money or lay by something for the future. They are dreadful drunkards of toddy and waste lots of money. They are fond of crime.

4. *Language and Religion.* They speak corrupt vulgar Telugu with a quickness of expression and shortening of sounds that provokes our curiosity. In committing crimes, they resort to strange signs and peculiar sounds which carry their own significance not known to us.

Their faith in god is faint. They worship trees and stones with turmeric and *kunkuma* and sacrifice fowls to propitiate the gods whose help they invoke in their foul crimes. They observe omens, the sight of snake or cat at the time of their setting out being considered very inauspicious.



They observe Dasara and Pongul, the two chief Hindu festivals and drink heavily, and enjoy a merry time, the males beating drums and the females dancing and singing vulgar ballads in Telugu. But the Yenadis of Nellore and Guntur unlike the Nakkalas of Godavari and Vizagapatam Districts are more civilised as they enact street dramas and sing and act well.

They observe the wedding and death ceremonies. Marriage is brought about by consent of the parents of the parties. Immorality is punished by fine which is utilised for a tribal feast. The dead are buried. The Yenadis believe in ghosts and spirits.

5. *Conclusion.*—If the Yenadis are formed into regular settlements and educated properly and given proper employment as field watchers or agricultural servants, the tribe would cease to decay as it is now doing. Besides, crime in the Circars will also decrease. It is really such depressed classes that should receive more attention at the hands of the Government.

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## INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the European and American Periodical Literature of the current quarter there is little of any importance regarding Indian Ethnology. In *Man* for January, 1931, the Rt. Hon. Lord Raglan points out that the editors of "Notes and Queries" are wrong in defining the word *family* as they do [viz., "the group consisting of a man, his wife (or wives) and their dependant children, own or adopted"], for the following reasons:— (1) The definition conflicts with the ordinary uses of the word. (2) They limit its use to a group which in most societies is socially unimportant, and in some does not exist at all. (3) They forbid one to write—"In accordance with custom, the Sheikh was succeeded by the eldest member of his family, his nephew X," but do not suggest a substitute. (4) One has continually to ask oneself whether one's author is using the word in the strict sense or not. (5) They have therefore added one to that class of unfortunate words, of which "law" and "primitive" are conspicuous examples, whose ambiguous use leads to loose thinking and fusty reasoning.

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* for January, 1931, Mr. V. Subrahmanya S'astri writes on the "Aryan Parentage of Astronomical Systems of Chaldea", Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti, in an article on "S'astras—Practical and Theoretical" discusses Indian contributions to the Sciences and

the Humanities; Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar contributes a paper on certain *Dravidic words*, such as *Child*, &c.; Mr. Dhyan Chandra concludes his article on "Hindus as Pioneers of World Civilization"; and Prof. S. C. Mitra concludes his "Studies in Plant Myths".

In the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, for January, 1931, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar contributes a paper on "Aryan Immigration into Eastern India". Mr. Nihar Ranjan Roy in an article on the "Origin of the Rajputs: The Nationality of the Gujars", attempts to refute criticisms against the generally accepted proposition that "the Rajputs, were originally of non-Indian extraction and were the descendants of foreign peoples who entered India about the beginning of the 6th century, A. D., i. e. of the Huns and the Gurjars"; and Mr. J. C. Ghosh contributes "Some Additional Notes on 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population'." In the last article the author quotes ancient Sanskrit authorities to show that such 'Dasyu' tribes as the Yavanas, Kiratas, Gandharas, Chinas, S'abaras, Barbaras, S'akas, Tusaras, Kanakas, Pahlavas, Andhras, Madrakas, Paundras, Pulindas, Ramathas and Kambojas, were to be seen among all the four castes (*varnas*) and the four *āśramas*, and that there were Yavana Vaisyas, Saka Vaisyas, Pallava Vaisyas, and so forth, differentiated from one other through such marks as garb, mode of dressing the hair, &c, and that the Kus'ana Kings came to be described as Kshatriyas of the solar race, and the foreign tribe of Pallavas came to trace

their descent from As'vatthāmā, the son of Drōṇācharya.

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, for September-December, 1930, Mr. Ramaswami Aiyar makes a "Linguistic Analysis of Dravidian Names denoting 'Peacock' and 'Bat'," Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy gives an account of "The Peoples of Burma", and Mr. Ramesh Chandra Roy writes on "Aboriginal Village Organization of India".

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for December, 1930, Mr. P. C. Chakravarti writes on "Naval Warfare in Ancient India", and Mr. Manoranjan Roy concludes his paper on the "Origin of Buddhism".

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**Ethnology of Africa.**—By W. D. Hamby,  
(Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1930)  
PP. 226 + XLII. Plates & 4 maps. Price \$ 50  
net.

This unpretentious volume which purports to be a Guide book to the Department of Anthropology of the Chicago Field Museum of Natural History is something more than a mere guide. It begins with brief general accounts of the geography and exploration of the African continent, development of African history, the races and migrations of the African peoples, their law and tribal government and languages and literature. It then deals successively with the different culture areas and their inhabitants and refers to the various groups of Museum exhibits illustrating their respective cultures. A final chapter briefly refers to modern development and the many social, moral and religious problems arising from the contact of native races of Africa with Europeans. It would be a great boon to intelligent and inquisitive visitors of our Indian Museums if Guide books of the kind were issued by their Curators.

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**Modifications in Indian Culture through Inventions and Loans.**—By *Erland Nordenskiöld*. (*Göteborg, Flanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1930. Published by the Oxford University Press*). PP. 256. Price 18s. 6d. net.

This is the eighth volume of the author's series of comparative ethnographical studies. In the present volume the eminent author has attempted to elucidate, by means of examples from American Indian culture, one of the outstanding problems of Anthropology, namely, the relation between independent inventions and culture loans. The author's investigations show that the same invention may just as well have been made twice although its area of distribution at the present time is a connected whole. Thus, for example, the membrane drum in large tracts of America is of pre-Columbian origin whilst in other parts it has been introduced by Whites and Negroes. Again, "many inventions have in America such an isolated area of distribution that they may properly be supposed to have been made there". "Seeing that the Indians had discovered and invented a great deal that was unknown to the Old World at the time of the discovery of America, it does not seem unreasonable to wonder whether they may not also have invented something or other that also was known there. The actual fact of their having done so is proved by it being possible to trace several inventions of that class from their simplest to their most elaborate forms". In this most valuable objective

study the author has co-ordinated what is known of loans between Indian tribes themselves, of loans by the Indians from the whites and negroes, of conditions under which culture elements have spontaneously spread, of the part played by migrations in the spread of culture elements of the stability of the migrating peoples' own culture and of the conditions tending to create or preclude a demand for certain culture elements. It is a most valuable contribution to anthropology.

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**The Sacred Baboons of Lomondo.**—By C. L. Harries, (*Hortors Limited. Johannesburg, 1929*). PP. IV+219. Price 7 S. net.

This interesting book is a collection of delightful sketches of the life of the Bavenda, a small Bantu tribe living chiefly on the slopes of the Zontpansberg range in Northern Transvaal. A touch of the real atmosphere of primitive Bavenda life is imported to these stories by setting them down as the Bavenda narrator would himself have told them, and in many cases did tell them. A book like this admirably serves to popularise the important study of primitive life.

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**Principles of Sociology.**—By E. A. Ross, Ph. D., LL. D. (*The Century Co., New York & London. First Revision. 1930*). PP. XII+592. Price \$ 4. net.



This is, a revised edition of Dr. Ross's well-known book on Sociology. The book is recast and partly re-written so as to bring the study of the major problems of society up to date. Among the features of the revision, the author notes the following:—Less material drawn from the Past and more from the Present; more attention to the tendencies in contemporary population; junking of the instinct psychology; incorporation of the chief findings of cultural anthropologists; the description and analysis of seven additional varieties of inter-group conflicts; the recognition of the aspect of society ably set forth by Sorokin in *Social Mobility*; assigning the revolutionary process a larger place in the picture; much freer use of diagrams; re-arrangement of the material by eliminating some chapters, adding several new chapters, and treating the subject in eleven parts instead of five. The book forms a valuable introduction to the study of sociology.

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**Costume Throughout the Ages.**— *By Mary Evans, A. M. (Lippincott Co. 1930). PP. XV+358. Price 15 S. net.*

This is an interesting and instructive volume, so far as it goes. But it is not, as the title leads the reader to expect, a complete historical study of the origin and evolution of dress. The book is divided into two parts, headed respectively, 'The Historic Dress of the Ancients, the French,

the English, and the Americans', and 'National Costume in Europe, Northern Africa, Asia and the Americas'. Part I is divided into four sections, viz, Costume of the Ancients which covers only 21 pages, French Costume which takes up 81 pages, English Costume covering 46 pages, and American Costume which covers 19 pages. The Costume of Ancient India has no place in the book. Part II consists of three sub-divisions, viz. Costume in Europe covering 67 pages; Costume in Northern Africa and Asia covering only 19 pages; and Costume in the Western World (Eskimos, Mexicans, and Indians of North and South America) covering 13 pages. In this second part dress in India is disposed of in five pages and 2 illustrations, which cannot be expected to give anything like a satisfactory account of dress even among the Hindus, Mohammedans, Sikhs and Parsis. The various aboriginal tribes of India with their large variety of dress and ornaments from the rude leaf-aprons and bark clothing still occasionally met with among a few hill tribes to the picturesque gala costume and hunting dresses of some of them, such as the Naga tribes of Assam, are not referred to in the volume. As for European Costume, an account of which occupies the greater portion of the book, the medieval period receives but a scanty treatment. Another defect of the book is the inadequacy of illustrations. As we said, the volume before us deals with only a part of a very large subject, and, as a pioneer

work in the field, deserves welcome at the hands of students and teachers.

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**The Bronze Age.**—By V. Gordon Childe, (*Cambridge: University Press. 1930*). PP. XII+251. Price 8s. 6d. net.

Students of Pre-historic Archæology will extend a cordial welcome to this well-written account of the Bronze Age about which so little has yet been published, particularly in the form of a systematic and connected whole. In this volume Prof. Childe has industriously collected, collated and systematised most if not all available materials bearing on the subject. So far as India is concerned, a few references have been made to the Bronze and Copper finds in the Indus Valley. It is true that in India copper played the same role in prehistoric industry (though probably for a longer period) that Bronze did in Europe. But yet Bronze artefacts are now and then unearthed from pre-historic sites in India. In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for September, 1930, some such artefacts,—bronze ornaments, bronze vessels, and bronze bells,—unearthed from prehistoric sites in Chota Nagpur were described and illustrated by the Editor of this Journal. The axe-head figured in Plate XX of that article, which together with the other objects described in that article are to be seen in the Patna Museum, has since been found

on chemical analysis to be made of bronze. This is perhaps the only bronze axe-head so far discovered in India.

We expect that this excellent work will meet with an extensive demand and a second edition will before long be called for and published with additional materials and further details.

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**An African Savage's Own Story—***By Lobogola*  
(*Alfred A. Knopf, London. 1930*). PP. ~~XXIII~~ 402. Price 10 s. 6 d.

This very novel and interesting volume purports to be a confessional autobiography of a civilized African savage. As evidence of the identity of the author with Corporal Kindai Lobogola who joined the British Army in the Great European War, facsimilies of his Military Recommendation, his Certificate of Discharge from the Royal Fusiliers in 1930 and his Passport to embark for Egypt *en route* to Palestine are printed. The unsigned Introduction is no evidence of the truth of the narrative in every detail, and there appears to be some internal evidence in the book to indicate that certain facts or incidents have been exaggerated and embroidered. But, as it is observed in the Introduction, "if every word of the story were wholly false, the narrative would still be interesting." Some features of savage life in Africa appear to be fairly well presented; and the popular form in which they are presented

is likely to interest the general reader in savage life. The book also serves the useful purpose of drawing pointed attention to the question of the influence of modern civilization on savage life.

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**An Introduction to Physical Anthropology.—**

*By C. P. Stibbe, F. R. C. S. (London: Edward Arnold. 1930), PP. 196. Price 12s 6d.*

As an introduction to Physical Anthropology this book will serve a useful purpose. The subject is considered from three view-points, viz. (i) Zoological (or the evolution of man from the Primates), (ii) Palæontological (or the study of the fossil remains of man) and (iii) Ethnological (or the study of the physical characters of living people with a view to understand their classification into races). The anatomical part of the book is the strongest. In the chapter (XIII) on the Examination of the Living Subject, a clear and somewhat detailed exposition of the biometric method might have been usefully added. The only map is defective, and there is no bibliography. So far as it goes, however, the book will be helpful to beginners in the study of Physical Anthropology. In fact, it is one of the best introductions to the subject in English.

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**Proverbs Literature.** *Compiled from Materials left by the late T. A. Stephens, & edited by Wilfrid Bonser, B. A., Ph. D. & Published by the Folk-lore Society, (London: William Glazier, Ltd. 1930). PP. XX+496.*

This bibliography of works relating to Proverbs current in civilised European countries as well as those of primitive peoples, will be of invaluable help to the student who may feel attracted to this fascinating branch of folklore. The compilation must have entailed considerable patience and industry both to the author and to the editor. As many as 4004 works of different countries of the world have been referred to. The topographical arrangement generally adopted in the volume has much in its favour.

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**The Universe Around Us.**—by Sir James Jeans, M. A., D. Sc., Sc. D., L. L. D., F. R. S., (University Press, Cambridge, 1930). PP. Price 12s. 6d.

Sir James is essentially a man of Astronomy. He is also what we may call a 'man of the world'. In this book the author attempts to explore the mysteries of the tiniest atom and the most gigantic nebula with the help of all the recent theories regarding matter of which the Universe is built.

In all the recent theories advanced, from Einstein's theory of Relativity to Sir Ernest Rutherford's conception of the structure of the



atom—which according to the old Daltonian conception being the ultimate constituent of matter was indivisible but recently split up into electrons and protons—simplicity has been the key-note. According to Sir James, just as Einstein's theory of Relativity depicts God as a pure mathematician—not a mechanician physicist of the Newtonian school—similar simplicity is attributed to the Creator who most possibly did not create a multiplicity of atoms in the primeval composition of the Universe. According to Dalton's atomic theory the atom of every element was different from the atom of every other element. But the new theory asserts that the action of God in this matter has been the creation of a simple proton round which a number of electrons revolve just as our earth and the solar system revolve round the central Sun, and these minute electrons and protons according to difference in the number of electrons go to build up the different elements. In support of this it has been proved that the heaviest Uranium with atomic weight 238 splits up into helium and lead of lower atomic weights. This brings us to the transmutation of elements from higher to lower and consequently the disintegration theory of the Universe gets its hold on our minds.

The author however in carving out the Universe begins from the other end of the cycle. He pictures the primeval chaos to be composed of minutest state of matter and pervading uniformly throughout infinite space in the form of a gas.

This uniform substance by some mysterious agency began to condense at different places to give birth to giant nebulae which however splits up into stars. The author sums up the process as follows:—

Primeval chaos—nebulae—stars—planets—satellites—higher elements—lower elements—radiation—energy at the lowest depth.

The process is a mixture of both evolution and devolution combined. If this combined view of the author is to be taken, the question naturally arises why matter which was so sparse in the beginning should not at once change into radiation but pass through a laborious process of condensation and then disintegrate?

The author has also no faith in the theory of cycles and holds the view that energy at the lowest bottomless pit can never re-form into matter—the energy then attaining some sort of *Nirvan* of the Budhistic philosophy.

P. M.

**The Mysterious Universe—***By Sir James Jeans*  
M. A., D. Sc. Sc. D., L. L. D., F. R. S., (University  
Press, Cambridge, 1930) PP Price 3s. 6d.

This is a fascinating treatise on the riddle of the Universe. The author is not only a great mathematical philosopher but also a great artist. It is no mean achievement to present such subjects as Matter, Radiation and Relativity in a manner palatable and intelligible even to those who do not claim to have any training in philosophical technicalities.

The author's lucid and forcible exposition leaves nothing unintelligible, and one is occasionally led to believe that the riddle of the Universe is not after all so difficult for us to understand as it appears to be. This book has been deservedly one of the best sellers of the year 1930, and nobody interested in any way with subjects referred to above should miss reading such an enthralling survey in a nutshell written by a master.

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*P. M.*

**Mendel's Principles of Heredity.**— *By W. Bateson, M. A., F. R. S., V. M. H. (University Press: Cambridge. 1930). Price 15 s. net.*

This is the fourth impression of a well known classic of biological literature which was first published in 1909. No one was better fitted to expound Mendel's principle of heredity than Bateson to whom and whose pupils we owe a mass of detailed work extending Mendelism to plants other than peas, as also to man and other mammals, birds and insects. This latest edition of the book will find a ready welcome from all students of biology and allied sciences.

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**The Story of Civilization Through the Ages.**— *By Charles Richet, with a Foreward by Sir Oliver Lodge. Translated by Fred Rothwell. (Allen & Unwin 1930). PP. 115. Price 3s. 6d. net.*

Although as a survey of the history of human civilization from its earliest beginnings to the present time, the book is too meagre and sketchy—there is not even a line about India and her contribution—it eminently fulfils its main object which, in the words of Sir Oliver Lodge in the Foreward, is “to emphasise the destructive and ruinous character of international jealousies and conflicts, and to trace all the real and permanent progress (from barbarism to the present beginnings of civilization) to the intervening periods when the sciences and arts could be properly cultivated”. The chief obstacles to Progress, according to the author, are War and other deliterious of international rivalry typified by the Customs House and restrictions on the free interchange of goods. The author concludes the book in the following words,—The task of the present age is a simple one: to give might to right, to remove might from that which is not right, and to snbstitute truth for error. Science is the great emancipator, and it is towards her that we should all turn our eyes.....And if science is to hold sway, there must be unity amongst men, that is to say, Peace”. Books with such humanist and internationalist outlook will serve a most useful purpose.

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**Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilization.**—By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M. A., Ph. D., (Calcutta, 1927). PP. XVI + 628. Price 12 s. 6 d. (Rs. 7-8).

This volume written by a distinguished scholar and authority on Indian history will be equally welcome to the serious student of Indian history and to the general reader who desires to have an accurate and reliable account of Ancient Indian history. A perusal of the book will convince the student of the justice of its claim to be the first book of its kind. Both in its matter and in its manner or method of treatment the book is of first-rate excellence and deserves cordial welcome at the hands of students and teachers.

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# 1. ORAON RELIGION AND CUSTOMS.

By RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. I. C.

Price.—Twelve Rupees.

## SOME OPINIONS ON THE BOOK.

Col. T. C. Hodson, M. A., *Reader in Ethnology in the University of Cambridge* :— "A book like this—sane, clear, scientific, sympathetic, comprehensive—is of prime importance to the student of Anthropology, to the student of Religion and to the Administrator who seeks or should seek to understand the forces which govern human activities, and it is full of charm and interest for the general reader who desires to know something at once accurate and intelligible of the Peoples of India".

Dr. R. R. Marett, M. A., D. Sc., *Rector of Exeter College Oxford* :—"In my opinion the latest work of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, namely, *Oraon Religion and Customs* (Ranchi, 1928), fully maintains the high standard of accurate observation and critical interpretation already reached by him in his well-known researches for which European scholars are exceedingly grateful ; for it is obvious that, so long as he accepts the same canons of inductive enquiry, the Indian investigator has a better chance of probing and penetrating to the truth in regard to all things Indian and especially in regard to the psychological facts."

Sir Arthur Keith, M. A., M. D., L. L. D., F. R. C. S., F. R. S., :—"I am very conscious of the great work you have done and are doing. There is no school or college of Anthropology but will make a special place for this your latest work both on its library shelves and in its heart. I doubt if any one has ever done so much for the Anthropology of a people as you have done for the Oraon. I endorse all my friend Col. Hodson has written in his preface and in particular would I underline your disinterested and persistent labour for the advance of Science".

Dr. Roland B. Dixon, A. M., Ph. D., *Professor of Anthropology in the Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.*, :—

I was delighted to get your recent book on *Oraon Religion* and have reviewed it for the *American Anthropologist*. The



book carries on the high standard which you have set in your previous works, and presents the material in a very effective form. I congratulate you on it most cordially.

**The Times** (London, February 28, 1929):— A very detailed account of the religion and magic of the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur, a people of Dravidian speech. It is based on twelve years' investigation by a highly competent ethnologist, who has already published a work on this people. It can be seen what a rich field there is in India among the more primitive peoples, which, indeed, can best be tilled by trained Indian ethnologists. There is a long chapter also on movements during the last hundred years and more among the Oraons towards a higher, simpler religion, which will interest students of religious psychology.

**The Nature** (London, March 9, 1929):— Ethnologists are indebted to Sarat Chandra Roy for his valuable book "*The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur*" (1915), and now he has provided a study of *Oraon Religion and Customs* which should be read by all those who are interested in primitive religions. The especial value of this book is not merely in the detailed accounts of socio-religious and religious rites and ceremonies and magical practices, but in the very suggestive religious transformations that have occurred since the Oraons arrived, and the process is still continuing.

**The Discovery.** (London, February 1929):— When the history of ethnological study in India comes to be written, the name of the author of this work is least likely to be overlooked. By his own work and by his encouragement of others as editor of the periodical *Man in India*, he has deserved well of his colleagues in anthropology. Sarat Chandra Roy has published here the promised continuation of his studies of the *Oraon* of which the first instalment appeared as long ago as 1915. The author is here concerned only with their religious and magical beliefs, both directly in themselves and in their relation to the *Oraon* social institutions, such as are involved in birth, marriage and death. Of particular interest to students of folklore and primitive religion are the sections dealing with agricultural ceremonies and the belief in witchcraft which afford much useful material for both comparison and contrast with European folklore.

A final chapter deals with revival movements and modern tendencies in Oraon religion which is highly suggestive and deserves the careful attention of all who are in any way interested in or connected with the problems of administration among peoples of non-European culture.

**The Statesman** (Calcutta, March 17, 1929):— The Rai Bahadur is wellknown for his excellent monographs on the *Mundas* and the *Oraons*, and is everywhere recognized as an anthropologist of rare insight. India, with its great variety of races, nationalities, creeds, customs, and cultures affords an excellent field for the anthropologist and sociologist. This new book will be studied with delight by scientists in many countries. The author has made a capital use of his opportunities of studying the several tribes of aborigines in Chota-Nagpur and Central India.

**The Forward** (Calcutta, February 19, 1929):— The learned author is a pioneer in the field of anthropology and needs no introduction. His previous works— *The Birhors*, *The Mundas* and *The Oraons* are classics and had already established a world-wide reputation for him. The present volume is a befitting successor to his previous works. It is the outcome of the author's deep and laborious investigations into the religion and customs of the *Oraons*, a much-neglected tribe of Chota-Nagpur, carried on for a long period of about twelve years and as such an invaluable treasure to students of anthropology and students of religion.

The get-up of the book is excellent. In short, the book leaves nothing to be desired.

**The Servant of India** (Poona, May 30, 1929):— The book is worthy of the author, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy of Ranchi, who is a well-known student of anthropology relating to the aboriginal tribes of Chota-Nagpur and the Central Indian Plateau.

The chapter on socio-religious rites and ceremonies is very interesting and demands careful study. The last chapter on the *Oraon Religion* with its revival movements is exceedingly instructive.

We strongly recommend the book to students of anthropology as well as to the general reader.

**The Modern Review** (Calcutta, January, 1929)— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is one of the few Indians who has shown a keen interest in the study of the primitive folks

of this country. In fact, the works that he has already published have earned for him the reputation of being our foremost authority on the aborigines of Chota-Nagpur. The present volume on *Oraon Religion and Customs* is the sequel to his earlier work on *The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur* (1915). In it the Rai Bahadur has given an exhaustive account of the religions and social institutions of this interesting tribe, the result of close personal observation and intimate acquaintance spreading over a period of twenty years. He has analysed the Oraon beliefs into their purely religious and magical sides and has described the customs and rites associated with the chief crises of life. As an authoritative treatment therefore of Oraon life in all its phases, including some of the modern tendencies, his account could hardly be improved.

The book is well-printed and illustrated and the price is moderate for a work of this kind. For students of Anthropology in the Post-Graduate classes of our Universities it should form a very handy and reliable text-book for some of their courses.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore, July, 1929):— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is too well known in the anthropological world to need any introduction. The publication of a volume on *Oraon Religion and Customs* was foreshadowed in 1915, when his *Oraons of Chota-Nagpur* first appeared. He has since been engaged in the investigation of their religion and customs for well-nigh twelve years, and the results are embodied in the present richly illustrated volume.

The work is full of charm and interest to the general reader who desires to know something of the religion and customs of this interesting people. We have great pleasure in commending this volume to all students of anthropology.

### **N. B.**

As only a limited number of copies have been printed, intending purchasers are requested to place their orders with the undersigned without delay.

**The Manager,**  
**'MAN IN INDIA' Office,**  
*Church Road, Ranchi,*  
*Chota Nagpur, B. N. Ry.*

## BOOKS FOR SALE.

at the "MAN IN INDIA" office,

Church Road, Ranchi.

**2. THE BIRHORS :** *a Little-known Jungle Tribe of Chota Nagpur.*—By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., M. L. C. Pp. viii+608, 36 plates. (Ranchi : "MAN IN INDIA" Office, 1925). Price Rs. 10/- ; or 15 s.

### SOME OPINIONS.

SIR JAMES G. FRAZER, D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D., F. B. A., F. R. S., O. M., Professor of Anthropology in the Trinity College, Cambridge writes :—

.....I find it characterised by the same high qualities a mark your former monographs on the **Mundas** and **Oraons**. You have rendered a valuable service to anthropology by placing on record the customs and beliefs of a very primitive tribe about which very little was known before and which, but for your careful and prolonged observations, might have passed away practically unknown. As in your former volumes I admire the diligence with which you have collected a large body of interesting facts and the perfect lucidity with which you have set them forth. The book is a fine specimen of a monograph on an Indian tribe and must always remain the standard authority on the subject. I congratulate you heartily on your achievement, and earnestly trust that you will continue your valuable investigation and give us other similar accounts of other primitive and little known Indian tribes.

SIR ARTHUR KEITH, M. D., F. R. C. S., L. L. D., F. R. S., Conservator of the Museum and Hunterian Professor, Royal College of Surgeons of England, writes :—

.....You have done a splendid piece of work—one which will make Europe indebted to you.....

DR. A. C. HADDON, M. A., Sc. D., F. R. S., Reader in Ethnology, of Cambridge, writes :—

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# MAN IN INDIA.

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## I. THE CULT OF BHUTADAMARA.

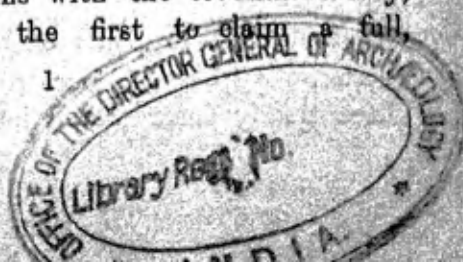
By

B. BHATTACHARYA, M. A., PH. D.,

*Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda.*

It is now undisputed that the three great religious systems of India developed their own pantheon, each following its own traditions, and for this purpose deities were often borrowed from one pantheon to another. This process of borrowing has been going on from time immemorial, and, as probably the Hindus were the first to develop their pantheon, both Jainism and Buddhism in earlier stages commonly ransacked the Hindu Gods for building up their own pantheons. By using the word "Pantheon" it is not the intention to emphasise that the Buddhists and Jainas worshipped the deities or were idol worshippers, but only to show that the followers of both acknowledged or recognized several gods in their earlier stages.

But later on, particularly in the Tantric age which practically begins with the seventh century, the Buddhists were the first to claim a full,





scientifically classified, and thoroughly efficient pantheon. The Hindus had their pantheon in the Purāṇas at some earlier period and as this was somewhat attractive to the Buddhists and the Jaiṇas, the two latter freely incorporated a large number of the Paurāṇic deities into their own pantheons. But in the Tantric age the Buddhists headed the list and their pantheon, because of the wealth and variety of gods and goddesses, created a profound impression on the followers of the Hindu and Jaina faiths, and they did not hesitate to borrow and incorporate as many of the deities of the Buddhist pantheon as would satisfy their needs. In the matter of a pantheon the Jaiṇas were always lagging behind, and in this respect they never developed any originality nor wealth of ideas, and as their pantheon is the smallest possible it is not proposed to deal with it at any great length. But the inter-relation between the Buddhist and Hindu pantheons was remarkable, and the deities in these two religious systems were so intermixed that it has now become almost impossible to distinguish between the two classes. The position has thus become very complicated as the Tantric system of the Buddhists is almost forgotten, so much so, that many will not believe that the Buddhists ever had any pantheon or deities, and therefore a large number of Buddhist deities are to-day recognized and worshipped as Hindu.

It is just to point out some instances where certain deities of purely Buddhist origin have been bodily incorporated into the Hindu pantheon

and even at the present moment are being worshipped by the Hindus, that I contributed a paper before the last session of the Oriental Conference at Lahore, entitled "Buddhist Deities in Hindu Garb". In this paper I made an attempt to show that some important Hindu deities, such as Kālī, Tārā, Bhadrakālī, Sarasvatī, Mañjughosa, Chhinnamastā, etc. were originally Buddhist in conception, form and character, but later on were incorporated into the Hindu pantheon and widely worshipped throughout the length and breadth of India. This was due to the fact that the Hindus of the Tāntric age were very probably struck by the power of the gods and the Mantras of the Buddhists, which could be employed for all conceivable objects; and thus they did not lose time in borrowing and incorporating such deities of the Buddhists as were wanting in Hinduism. The other reason why this fact remains undetected even now is the complete disappearance of Buddhism from the soil of India at the advent of the Muhammadans who made it a point to kill the monks, loot their monasteries, and burn their libraries of valuable manuscript treasures.<sup>1</sup> The great popularity of the Buddhist Tantras, Tāntric system, doctrines and practices proved so attractive to the masses that it was a sheer impossibility on the part of the Hindus not to accept some of the doctrines and practices into Hinduism, which would have otherwise been

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<sup>1</sup> *Tabakat i Nasiri* in Elliot: *History of India as told by her own historians*, Vol. II, p. 306 gives an account of the doings of the Muhammadans at the Odantapuri monastery.

threatened with destruction. The Hindus however could not surpass the Buddhists either in the sublimity of their doctrines or the heinousness of their practices; and therefore the Buddhists were the supreme masters in the field of Tantrism by virtue of the number of books written and the followers practising the Tantric methods. No one can conceive what would have happened if the Buddhists had been allowed to go their own way as they were doing during the Tantric age. The consequences would certainly have been very grave for the future of Hinduism and Hindu culture, both of which would have entirely collapsed. It was very lucky for the Hindus that the Muhammadans came and by one stroke of their sword destroyed all vestige of this once mighty religion. Few people can imagine why the Muhammadans fixed the Buddhists as their target of attack, but the reason for this is not very far to seek. The Buddhist religion believed in concentration in monasteries from its very inception at the time of Buddha, and one reason for the great popularity it at that time and subsequently enjoyed, was that Buddhism could provide a haven of rest for its followers. Hinduism never believed in concentration, but always advocated decentralisation. With the Hindus religion was a 'cottage industry', and the heads of social organisations always made it a point to see that every one in every house followed the doctrines and practices prescribed in the S'astras. There was a powerful social organisation behind the S'astras, and the individuals and householders

had to take care not to provoke the wrath of society by disobeying the mandates of the S'astras.

With the Buddhists, monasteries were a necessity from very early times owing to the peculiar restrictions and discipline enjoined by Buddha on his followers. Buddhism, moreover, had no respect for society, as it was mostly concerned with out-castes or low castes consisting of original inhabitants of the country not affiliated to the orthodox social hierarchy, and for that reason also separate organisations, such as the monasteries, were a necessity in Buddhism. Since then, the followers of Buddhism believed in monasteries, built new ones, equipped them with buildings, paintings, beautiful carvings of stone, images of exquisite beauty, and enriched them to a great extent with the accumulated wealth of ages. Some of the monasteries presented the appearance of forts, and as the monks were dressed in one particular fashion they resembled an army of soldiers. So long as the Hindus remained at the helm of political power in India these monasteries, monks and even the Buddhists were not harmed except on rare occasions, because the Hindu rulers always practised toleration in religious matters, and sometimes even embraced religions other than their own. And hence the Buddhists were safe in the hands of the Hindu rulers, but when the Muhammadans came their chief objective was to loot and conquer. They took the monasteries to be forts, and the monks to be uniformed soldiers, and forthwith

annihilated them and Buddhism along with them, and thus indirectly saved Hinduism from further disruption, and helped its followers in consolidating their position. To Hinduism they could do very little direct harm, as religion with the Hindus was a 'cottage industry', and to destroy Hinduism it becomes necessary to destroy all villages and cottages and the literature scattered over the whole country. The Muhammadans did not come with the object of destroying any religion as such, and they were satisfied when they could get enough money and enough territory by subjugating the different rulers all over India. So the destruction of Buddhism in India at the hands of the Muhammadans was a mere accident and a great landmark in the history of the development of the different Indian religions.

It would have been very wise if the Hindu could have thrown off the pernicious Tāntric system and Tāntric doctrines and practices they obtained from the Buddhists, immediately on the banishment of Buddhism. It is, therefore very unfortunate that this very Tāntrism was allowed to remain, which is now eating into the vitals of Hindu society. The unscrupulous priests found the deities, temples, and all paraphernalia attached to them to be very lucrative, particularly because the masses were very superstitious and ignorant, and thus the system and the practices have continued to flourish until the present time when society has lost almost all vigour, which religion seeks to intensify. In fact, the result has been disas-

trous. Even to this day we find genuine Buddhist deities being worshipped in genuine Hindu temples by genuine followers of Hinduism, with the greatest possible devotion,—for whose good and benefit God alone knows!

Bhūtaḍāmara is a peculiar deity acknowledged both by the Hindus and the Buddhists. It is not known whether Bhūtaḍāmara is still worshipped in any part of India, but this deity is selected because it is possible to compare minutely the Hindu and Buddhist forms of the same deity from available materials. This is one more example to show how a Buddhist deity is taken into Hinduism for its multifarious usefulness. A comparison of the two forms becomes quite easy as there are extant two Bhūtaḍāmara Tantras, one belonging to the Hindus and the other to the Buddhists. As will be shown in the sequel this Bhūtaḍāmara was borrowed for the Hindu pantheon along with a large number of doctrines and practices current among the Buddhists. The cult of Bhūtaḍāmara is remarkable as illustrating mutual borrowings of deities from one pantheon to another.

Besides the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra there are extant four Sādhanaś 2 in the Sādhanamālā referring to the worship of the same deity. Two of these Sādhanaś are assigned to two authors of Tantric Buddhism namely, Vairocana and Trailikya-vajra. 3 It is easy to assign a date to Vairocana as he is the same as Vairocana Raksita who is

<sup>2</sup> Bhattacharyya, B.: ed: *Sādhanamālā*, vol. II, 264, 265, 266, 267

<sup>3</sup> Ibid pp. 514, 524.



said to have been a disciple of Guru Padmasambhava who went to Tibet to reform the Buddhism of that country when King Khri Sron Lde btan was reigning in Tibet. This king is believed to have reigned between A. D. 728-764, and as Vairochana was also his contemporary it is not unreasonable to assign him a period ranging from the second quarter of the 8th century. Very little, however, is known about the other author who referred to the deity Bhūtaḍāmara except to mention that his name occurs in a manuscript of the Sādhana-mālā which was written in 1165 A.D. and therefore the author cannot be later than the beginning of the 12th century. <sup>4</sup> It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that the cult of Bhūtaḍāmara was very well known in the time of Vairochana Rakshita in the middle of the 8th century.

As regards the Tantra of Bhūtaḍāmara it must be stated in the beginning that it has no connection with the Ḍāmara literature of the Hindus. The Ḍāmaras <sup>5</sup> are a division of the Tantric literature of the Hindus and six principal Ḍāmaras are recognized, namely, Sivaḍāmara (11007 verses), Yogaḍāmara (23533 verses), Dūrgaḍāmara (11533), Sārasvataḍāmara (9905 verses), Brahmaḍāmara (7105 verses) and Gandharvaḍāmara (60060 verses). Though a list of Ḍāmaras is mentioned in the Varāhītantra, the Ḍāmaras as a rule exist only in

<sup>4</sup> For the dates of Vairochana and Trailokyavajra see also *ibid.*, introduction, CXX, CXXI; and P. N. Bose: *Indian Teachers in Indian Universities*, p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> *Sabdakalpādruma* : article on Ḍāmara.

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*Edited by*

RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.

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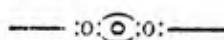
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name. The word Dāmara means 'Chamatkāra' \* or magic and as the Tantras are concerned mostly with magic and magical feats it is no wonder that a class of literature is called by the name of Dāmara. Bhūtaḍāmara, however, seems to be the name of a deity, and as the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra deals with the different rites his worship it is known by that name, and is therefore unconnected with the Dāmara literature of the Hindus. Moreover as will be shown later on, the origin of the Tantra is definitely Buddhist, and so it is unreasonable to associate the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra with the Dāmara literature of the Hindus, because the Buddhists never recognised the existence of a special class of Tāntric literature such as the Dāmaras.

It is difficult to say to what period the cult of Bhūtaḍāmara may be assigned. What is learnt from the Tantra dedicated to Bhūtaḍāmara, is that the deity when invoked gives the worshipper power to exorcise all kinds of pseudo-human beings such as ghosts, demons, Pisācas, Nāgas, Kinnaras, Apsarasas and so forth, and coerce them to submission, in order that they may supply the worshippers with all the amenities of life, such as wealth, women, places and so forth, and after death re-birth in the families of Brahmins, or kings. Such supernatural beings as ghosts, demons, etc., were always regarded as more powerful than men, with extraordinary capability

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\* Ibid भूताना दामरश्चमत्कारोऽत्रिति भूतदामर शब्द निर्वचने निबन्धकार ।



of inflicting severe injuries to human beings. The existence of these beings has been recognised in India from time immemorial, and people have been constantly in terror of these semi-divine, mysterious, invisible and highly mischievous beings since very early times. It has also been recognized from very early times that these beings are highly susceptible to the effect of Mantras, and when pleased or coerced they are able to do great good to human beings. They are capable of being properly handled, pleased, co-erced or bewitched by the application of diverse formula. Therefore, for a long time from the Vedic times onwards various kinds of civilized and uncivilized methods are being applied in order either to propitiate or co-erce them. In the Tantric age or just a little earlier the Buddhists were busy making a pantheon and creating gods and goddesses for all conceivable objects, and it is no wonder that they should pay adequate attention to the necessity of subduing such a huge lot of mysterious, invisible and mischievous beings, particularly because of their great susceptibility to charms. What they wanted was that in their pantheon there should be a god who would exercise power over these beings, and a set of Mantras to enchant or co-erce them. This culminated in the creation of Bhūtadāmarā and a number of Mantras mentioned in the body of the Tantra for the enchantment of the different classes of beings mentioned before.

But no one can introduce any new idea or

innovation into Buddhism except the Bhagavān, whose authority even in later Buddhism was supreme. Thus a class of literature was created by the Buddhists and was known by the name of Saṅgītis. A Saṅgīti in a full-fledged form generally begins with the description of an Assembly of the Faithful surrounding Buddha Bhagavān, who sits in a variety of meditations and gives out certain new truths not preached by him before when he came down to the earth as Kasyapa or Dīpaṅkara. <sup>6</sup> The Assembly members occasionally interrupt the Bhagavān with their doubts which are removed by him. Occasionally, his new tenets are opposed by the members, at which Bhagavān becomes angry and mysteriously makes everyone unconscious, <sup>7</sup> and revives them again, whereupon they realise their folly and send forth a volley of praise of the Bhagavān. The more important Tantras are in this form, but later on the elaborate proceedings of the Saṅgītis began to be shortened and ultimately the introductory portions were considered unnecessary and useless and therefore discarded.

The Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra begins abruptly without much introduction in the form of an elaborate description of the Assembly of the Faithful together with the names of the principal members, as is usual with this class of Saṅgītis. Therefore

<sup>6</sup> In the *Guhyasamāja* 17th Chapter this has been distinctly stated. This work which is expected to come out shortly is being printed for the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*.

<sup>7</sup> This episode occurs both in the *Guhyasamāja* and in the *Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra*.

the Tantra, though in a Saṅgīti form, does not conform to all the rules that make a Saṅgīti. This leads us to believe that the Tantra must have belonged to a later age when elaborate formalities were not considered necessary in Buddhism for introducing innovations. In the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra Bhagavān Mahāvajradhara is the principal speaker, and the Assembly contains several important and powerful personages among whom we recognize the familiar figure of Mahādeva who is represented as freely interrupting the Bhagavān either with his doubts or prayers for the elucidation of particular points.

It is not at all unlikely that the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra ushered into existence the cult of Bhūtaḍāmara, because otherwise we do not see any necessity of a special Saṅgīti introducing his worship, as Saṅgītis only become necessary when new ideas, new thoughts, and new doctrines are introduced into Buddhism. Before the summary of the Tantra and its subject matter is given, it may be said that though the cult of Bhūtaḍāmara may not be contemporaneous with the introduction of such ancient deities as Amitābha, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, it is sufficiently old, and that the introduction of this deity may be placed in the very beginning of the Tāntric age itself. At any rate, the date of the introduction of the Tantra as well as the deity cannot be later than the 8th century as Vairochana Rakshita actually mentions their names in the Sadhana composed by him.

There is, however, another point which helps

us in finding out the date of the introduction of the Tantra. The Bhūtadāmara Tantra, while mentioning the manifold benefits accruing from the coercion of the different kinds of supernatural beings, several times refers to golden Dīnāras as coming from them in varying quantities in accordance with the Mantra practised. Now these Dīnāras<sup>s</sup> were the name of an Indian coin struck in imitation of the Roman coin called Denarii which were current in India perhaps from the middle of the Gupta period. Thus it is not unseasonable to place the introduction of the Bhūtadāmara Tantra in the beginning of the seventh century. Moreover, Amarakosa mentions the Dīnāras as equivalent to golden Nishkas which were current. In the 6th century which is believed to be the date of the Amarakosa, Dīnāras must have had widespread currency, as otherwise a foreign word like this would not have found a place in a Kosa work.

Before we take up a detailed comparison of the two Tantras assigned to Bhūtadāmara by the adherents of the Hindu and Buddhist Tantrism, it is necessary to state at the outset that I had the opportunity of examining a single manuscript of each of the two versions which are preserved in the Manuscript Library of the Oriental Institute at Baroda. The Buddhist manuscript (Acc. No. 13247) is a recent copy of some older manuscript of the Tantra as found in Nepal, very probably in the Durbar Library; but the Hindu

<sup>s</sup> See article on Dīnāra in A. X. Soares: *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages* (Now in the Press)

version (Acc. No. 9168) seems to be somewhat older, say about two hundred years. Both the manuscripts are full of scribe's errors and numerous other kinds of errors, but the Hindu version has, in addition, some notes explaining the difficult portions of the text, and invariably giving the Mantras expressed in the text by means of code words. As is usual with this class of literature no name of any author can be found. As I consider the Hindu Tantra to be a later and a more modified form of the original Buddhist Tantra I shall give here the contents of the two Tantras side by side for facility of comparison:—

Buddhist	Hindu
<p>1. The first chapter opens with a description of Mahāvajradhara who recites at the request of Mahādeva a particular Mantra for subduing the diverse kinds of ghosts and demons. Immediately, destructive rays of light issue forth from the person of the Bhagavān and all the diverse kinds of ghosts and demons are seen consumed by the fire of the rays. Later on, he again utters the Mr̥ta-sañjivani Mantra in order</p>	<p>1. First Patala Unmatta-bhairavī wants to know how gods like Brahmā, Indra, Śiva, etc were killed and the methods by which the dead come back to life again. In reply Unmatta-bhairava recites the Bhūta-dāmara, Tantra which bestows the final liberation as soon as it is known. At this stage the commentary begins with “<i>asyārthah</i>” thus: “<i>Atha Bhūta-dāmaram Vakshye mantrinam hita-</i></p>

to revive the demons after showing his wonderful might and valour, and the wind that comes out from the nose of Vajradhara touches the dead bodies of the ghosts and demons and they are revived forthwith. They begin trembling thereafter and unconditionally place themselves under the protection of Vajradhara, and their lord Aparājita falls at his feet and wants protection. The Bhagavān later on extracts from them a promise that they will render all possible help to the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa, supply them with their daily needs, food, garments, gold, jewels, and the like, and keep them protected from the fear of kings and enemies. He also threatens all the supernatural beings, namely, the Vidyādharaḥ, Bhūtiṇiḥ, Nāgiṇiḥ, Yakshiṇiḥ, Śalabhañjikāḥ, Asurīḥ, Kinnarīḥ, Mahānāgiḥ, Garuḍiḥ, Piśāchiḥ, and

kāmyayā.

Yasya Vijnānamātreṇa  
mantrasiddhim-upalabhet  
Unmattaḥ .Vajrapāyaye  
mahākrodhādhipataye  
Vyomavyāpi mahākāyam  
abhedyaḥ abhedakam tathā  
Pralayārkam-ivātyugraṃ  
prabhāmaṇḍaladuḥsaham  
Gūḍarātrākaram 'sud-  
dham baddham bhūmau  
pratiṣṭhitam

Namāmi sarvabhāvena  
Bhūtadāmaranāyakam

Atthato Bhūtadāmarā-  
mahātantiarāje bhūtabhū-  
tiṇī-adhana vidhivistaram  
pravakshyāmi. Ityaha  
bhagavān Mahāvajradha-  
ras-trailokyādhipatiḥ.

And further on the two chief figures Unmatta-  
bhairava and Unmatta-  
bhairavī practically disap-  
pear and the whole chapter  
is delivered by Mahāvajra-  
dhara.

### Second Paṭala

Vajradhara gives out  
the Mantra which can  
successfully accomplish



Gandharvīs with destruction if they do not faithfully carry out his wishes in the matter of providing the people of Jambudvīpa with all that has been suggested by him.

the destruction of the gods and the ghosts, demons and other supernatural beings. He utters the Mantra and the gods such as Indra and Brahmā are killed, who are characterized as Bhūtadevatā. Aparājita, the lord of ghosts, thereupon, touches the feet of the Bhagavān and throws himself at his mercy, and promises to destroy the enemies of the people of Jambudvīpa and supply them with all their needs and protect them. On this assurance being given the Bhagavān recites the Mritasañjīvanī Mantra which miraculously revives the dead Bhūtadevatās and they begin trembling in terror.

2. Vajradhara later on makes the eight principal Ghosts give out the Hridaya Mantras called in the Hindu version the Sundarī Mantras, eight in

2. Third Patala

Unmattabhairavi asks her lord to reveal to her the details by which perfection may be gained through the recitation of

number. Then follow certain gāthās and detailed instructions for reciting the different Mantras in order to attain the different perfections. These Sundarīs are named as S'rī Bhūtakula Sundarī, S'rī Vijaya Sundarī, S'rī Vimala Sundarī, S'rī C-ṭī Sundarī S'rī Manohara Sundarī, S'rī Bhūkhaṇḍa Sundarī, S'rī Dhavala Sundarī and S'rī Cakshumati Sundarī.

the different Sundarī Mantras, and in reply Ummattabhairava gives the directions for the Sadhana, and reveals the Mantras and Mudras connected with the rites. The Sundarīs when pleased or subdued by Mantras do immense service to the worshiper, and a list of such services as can be obtained from them then follows in the same line, mainly in the same words as found in the Buddhist version. The number and names of the Sundarīs are the same as given in the Buddhist version.

3. In the second chapter the Mahabbūtinī Smaśānapravesinī by name touches the feet of Vajradhara and reveals to him her Mantras. As the number of S'mas'ānas is eight, she also gives eight Mantras for the eight presiding deities of the

3. Fourth Patala.

Describes the Sadhana, Mantra, and Mudra of the eight S'mas'ānavāsīs or the presiding deities of the burning grounds. The names and number of the deities are the same as described in the Buddhist version.

different burning grounds. Then follows the description of the different Mudrās and Sādhana for the attainment of perfection (Siddhi). The eight S'mas'anapraves'inīs are named in the Tantra as follows: Ghoramukhī, Damstrākarālī, Jarjjaramukhī, Kamalalochanī, Vikāṣamukhī, Dhundharī, Vidyutkarālī, Saumyamukhī.

4. In the third chapter *Mahāraudrabhūtinī* *Chandakātyāyanī* by name, touches the feet of the Bhagavān and reveals her Mantra. As Kātyāyanīs are eight in number eight different Mantras are enumerated. Then follow descriptions of the different Mudrās connected with the eight Kātyāyanīs and the rites for attaining perfection. The eight Kātyāyanīs are named in the Tantra as *Mūlakātyāyanī*, *Mahā Kātyāyanī*, *Rudrakātyāyanī*, *Bhadra-*

#### 4. Fifth Patala

*Unmattabhairava* reveals the Sādhana, Mudrā and Mantra for the eight Bhūta-Kātyāyanīs and describes the method of worship and the perfections obtainable therefrom. The name and number of the eight Kātyāyanīs are the same as in the Buddhist version.

kātyāyanī, Kuṇḍalakātyāyanī, Bhadrakātyāyanī, Kuṇḍalakātyāyanī, Vajrakātyāyanī and Jayakātyāyanī.

5. In the fourth chapter the Bhagavān gives a description of the Maṇḍala which he characterises as the Krodhamāṇḍala. The Maṇḍala describes Bhūtaḍāmara and a large number of his companions arranged in four rows round him. The Maṇḍala is described further on.

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6. Next follows the procedure of entering into the Maṇḍala described above, and immediately following is enumerated a large number of Mantras pertaining to the Maṇḍala which lead to the diverse Siddhis or perfections along with the different Mudrās and their descriptions which refer to the companion deities placed in the Maṇḍala.

5. Sixth Patala.

Uṇmattabhairavī gives out to his consort the description of the Maṇḍala together with the Dhyaṇa of the principal deity Bhūtaḍāmara and the different gods and goddesses surrounding him as companions, in the same way as described in the Buddhist version.

6. After giving the directions for entering the Maṇḍala the Tantra enumerates the relevant Mantras, a large number of which are in code words unlike those in the Buddhist version.

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7. In the 5th. Kalpa Vajrapāṇi gives a sermon on the merits to be gained by the mere sight of the Maṇḍala, by the mere utterance of the name of Vajradhara, and perfections to be gained by the various practices recommended. Then he gives a list of Sādhana and detailed directions for the attainment of Siddhi, and for killing and subduing a number of gods such as Mahādeva, Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā, Ś'akra, Kumāra, Gaṇeś'a, Bhairava, Nartteś'vara, Mahākāla and others.

8. Then follow some verses and Mantras and directions for making the Bhūtinis work as servants or protect the worshipper as his mother by supplying him with all his needs, wealth and comforts. The Bhūtinis are recognized here as eight in number, to wit : Vibhushaṇī, Kuṇḍalabārīṇī. Simhali,

# 7. Seventh Pātala.

In this small chapter Unmattabhairava gives directions for certain rites which lead to diverse kinds of perfections by killing or destroying (Māraṇa) several important gods.

# 8. Eighth pātala

Unmattabhairava reveals the Sādhana of Cēṭikas and enumerates the different service obtainable from Bhūtinī and Kuṇjaravatī.

# 9th. Pātala.

The same subject is continued here and directions for the Sādhana of Vibhūtinī, Kuṇḍaladhā-

Hasini, Nati, Rati, Kames'vari and Devi.

rinī Sindurīnī, Apahārinī, Mahānati, Ceti, Kames'vari and Kumārī are given. These beings are called Bhūtīs in the chapter.

9. Next the Tantra deals with the Mantras and the different Sadhanas for subduing the eight Apsarasas and attaining the diverse Siddhis. The Apsarasas are also mentioned as eight, namely, S'as'idevi, Tilottamā, Kañchanamālā, Kuṇḍalahārinī, Ratnamālā, Rambhā, Urvāsī and Bhūshiṇī.

9. 10th Paṭala.

Unmattabhairavī asks her consort to reveal to her the secret methods by which the gods, beginning with Brahṇā, may be mysteriously destroyed. Unmattabhairava, quite contrary to expectations, reveals the Mantras and Sadhanas of the eight Apsarasas namely, Sasi-devī, Tilottamā, Kañchanamālā, Kulahārinī, Ratnamālā, Rambhā, Urvāsī, Bhūshana.

10. In the 8th. Kalapa the Yakṣiṇīs get up and pay homage to the Lord Vajradhara and reveal their Mantras. The number of the Yakṣiṇīs is also recognized as eight, namely, Surasundarī, Maṇhārinī, Kanakamatī, Kamesvari, Ratipriyā,

10. 11th. Paṭala.

Unmattabhairava in reply to a question reveals the Sadhanas, Mantras, and Mudrās for the worship of the Yakṣiṇīs, and describes the different perfections obtainable therefrom. The Yakṣiṇīs are eight in number and



Padminī, Natī and Anurāginī. In this section details are given showing the procedure to be followed by the worshipper in order that he may obtain power over these supernatural beings.

11. In the next section the Nāginīs rise up and pay their homage to the Lord Vajradhara in the august assembly by touching his feet and reveal their Hridaya Mantras. The Nāginīs are also eight in number and their names are given in the Tantra as Anantamukhī, Karkkoṭakamukhī, Padmamukhī, Mahāpadamamukhī Vāsukī, Jvālāmukhī, and Śaṅkhaṇāmukhī. Then follows the enumeration of the manifold Siddhis obtainable therefrom.

12. In the section which comes next the six Kinnarīs rise up and after paying homage to Vajradhara reveal their Hridaya Man-

their names are the same as found in the Buddhist version.

11. 12th. Paṭala.

Reveals the Mantra, Mudrā, Sādhana of the Nāginīs, and describes the different perfections which can be obtained by having a control over them. The number of the Nāginīs is recognized as eight and their names are the same as given in the Buddhist version.

12. 13th. Paṭala.

The siddhi of the Kinnarīs is described with details of Mudrās and Sādhana. Their number

tras. The six Kinnarīs are mentioned as Manoharinī, Subhagā, Viśālānetī, Suratapriyā, Sumukhī and Divākaramukhī. Then follow the Sādhanaś Mudrās and Mantras as usual.

13. Then follows a second description of the Maṇḍala, with less detail but practically including the same gods and goddesses mentioned in the fourth chapter, and the directions for entering the Maṇḍala along with a number of Mantras connected with the rites.

14. In the subsequent section details are given of rites for subduing and conquering the eight Bhūtas, namely, Aparājita, Ajita, Purāṇa, Apūrāṇa, Śīmaśānādhipati, Kulasa, Bhūteśa and Kiṅkarottama (Kinnarottama in Hindu), and Sādhanaś, Mantras and Mudrās con-

is recognized here also as six and their names are the same as given in the Buddhist version of the Bhūtaḍḍamara Tantra.

13. 14th. Paṭala.

Describes the Maṇḍala of Bhūtaḍḍamara for the second time, though with less detail than before. This chapter describes also the method of entering the Maṇḍala and gives description of several Mudrās and enumerates a number of Mantras and Mudrās connected with the rite.

14. 15th. Paṭala.

Unmattabhairava describes the methods by which mastery over the Yakṣas or Bhūtas may be obtained, and for this purpose reveals a number of Mantras, Mudrās and gives elaborate description of the procedure to be followed for the differ-

nected with the rites. This section is fairly long and very detailed, after which the work comes to an end with an enumeration of the different varieties of S'ūnyatā, namely,

1. Bahyādhyātmas'ūnyatā.
2. Adhyātmas'ūnyatā.
3. Adhyātinabāhyādhyātmas'ūnyatā.
4. S'ūnyatās'ūnyatā.
5. Mahās'ūnyatā.
6. Paramārtha's'ūnyatā.
7. Asamskṛtas'ūnyatā.
8. Atyantas'ūnyatā.
9. Anavarāgras'ūnyatā.
10. Prakṛtis'ūnyatā.
11. Sarvadharmas'ūnyatā.
12. Svalakṣhaṇas'ūnyatā.
13. Anupalambhas'ūnyatā.
14. Svabhāvas'ūnyatā.
15. Abhāvas'ūnyatā.
16. Abhāvasvabhāvas'ūnyatā.

ent kinds of power. Here also their number is recognized as eight, and their names are materially the same as given in the Buddhist version.

#### 16th. Paṭala.

Gives a few stanzas at the end and calls the chapter the *Grānthastuti* "praise for the book." Then follows the Mantra-kosha after which the work comes to a close.

From the comparative statement of contents given above it may be noticed that the Buddhist Tantra is not careful enough to divide the chapters systematically, and as a matter of fact beyond the 4th. Kalpa no chapter colophons are to be seen except at the end of the 8th. Even at the

end the colophon does not mention the chapter. The Hindu version on the other hand comprises practically sixteen paṭalas, though even after the sixteenth there is a long extract giving what is called the Mantrakosha where the symbols such as Hṛīm, Krīm, etc, are explained. In these sixteen chapters the Hindu version practically goes over the same ground and treats of the same topics as given in the Buddhist version, but the character is somewhat changed, as here in the opening Paṭala instead of Vajradhara addressing the Assembly, Unmattabhairava is introduced as being pleased to answer the queries of his consort Unmattabhairavī.

But no one can deny that there is a great deal that is common to both the versions of the Bhutaḍamara Tantra, though the two belong to two widely different religious systems. But that is not sufficient to establish the relative priority of the two versions. The general impression of the reader who compares the two versions closely is that the Hindu version is a later one on which the earlier Buddhist version has been remodelled.<sup>8</sup> There are also several reasons for considering the Hindu version to be an imitation of the earlier and the original Buddhist version of the Bhutaḍamara Tantra. The Buddhist version puts the whole Tantra in the mouth of Vajradhara

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<sup>8</sup> We have a faint suspicion that this remodelling mostly was done by the Nine Nāthas and 84 Siddhas recognized by the Hindus. But at present it would be almost impossible to prove this thesis.

who is regarded as the highest deity in Buddhism, but in the Hindu version sometimes Vajradhara is also represented as giving out certain Mantras, though in the beginning of almost every chapter the work opens with a conversation between Unmattabhairava and Unmattabhairavī. Moreover, it is quite natural with the Buddhist to consider the highest Hindu deities as Bhūtas or supernatural or inferior beings ready to do service for the worshipper. But even in the Hindu version the same sentiments are expressed, and Mantras and methods are given for the Māraṇa of Brahmā and others who are considered as Bhūtas. Again, it is natural with the Buddhist to make the highest Hindu gods as companions and inferior to the principal god Bhūtaḍāmara, because that shows clearly that the Buddhist gods are far more powerful than the important Hindu gods who are much inferior to them and are given definitely subordinate positions in the Maṇḍala of Bhūtaḍāmara. But it is certainly strange in a Hindu Tantra to have the highest Hindu gods given definitely an inferior position in the Maṇḍala.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the Hindu version of the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra mentions a large number of Buddhist terms in the body of the book and introduces some avowedly Buddhist characters in it. Thus we find Vajradhara frequently introduced and mentioned, and Vajrapāṇi, another Bodhisattva of

<sup>9</sup> The Buddhists maintained a very hostile attitude towards the Hindu gods and goddesses in their rituals and in the sculptures, images and paintings. For details see B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 162.

the Buddhist pantheon introduced as giving certain instructions to the gods and particularly to Mahes'vara. On fol. 8 Aparajita, the lord of Ghosts, is represented as saying that he will supply all the needs of those who mutter the Mantra relating to the Sarvatathāgatas. Bodhisattva is mentioned in several places and in one place Mahādeva is addressed as a Bodhisattva (fol. 9), and in some places the worshipper is recommended even to meditate on S'ūnya (fol. 20). In the Sadhanamālā Tantra where four Sadhanas are dedicated to the worship of Bhūtaḍāmara, the deity is described as an expert in destroying the pride of S'akra, Brahmā, Kubera and others. It is a well-known fact that the Buddhists cherished a great hatred towards Hinduism and the Hindu gods, and they took particular pleasure in defaming Hindu gods both in writing and in art. It is thus easy to think that Bhūtaḍāmara was created as the destroyer of the pride of Hindu gods and this explains the position of the greatest Hindu gods placed in a subordinate position in the Bhūtaḍāmara Maṇḍala. The Hindu version of the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra is therefore a revision of the Buddhist Tantra which is original, and there is enough in the Hindu version to show that the character of the original Tantra is wholly Buddhist. Furthermore, the Sadhanamālā is a Buddhist Tantra and there is no other reason why the work should include the different Sadhanas for Bhūtaḍāmara unless they are Buddhist in origin and character.



The Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra centres round the figure of Bhūtaḍāmara and his Maṇḍala which is described twice in each of the two versions of the Tantra above referred to. Four Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā professedly of an abridged character also describe the principal god of the Maṇḍala. The two versions of the Tantra describe the form of the deity differently and the difference is worth noting in the comparative statement given below :

## Buddhist

## Hindu.

1. Tantra madhye nyased-  
draudram jvālāmālāsamā-  
kulam

Chaturbhujam mahā-  
krodham bhinnāñjanasama  
prabham

Dakṣiṇe vajramullālya  
tarjayan vāmapāṇinā

Damstrākarālavadanam  
nāgastākavibhūṣitam

Kapālamālāmukutaṃ  
trailokyasyāpi nās'anam

Aṭṭhaśam mahās'āntam  
(nādam) trailokyādhipatim  
prabhum

Pratyāliḍhasusamsth-  
ānam adityakoṭisannibham

Aparājita padākṛāntam  
mudrabandhena tiṣṭhati.

1. Jvālāmālākulam dīp-  
tam yugāntāgnisamapra-  
bham

Bhinnañjanamahākāyam  
kapālakulabhūṣaṇam

Aṭṭhaśam mahābhīmam  
trailokyātibhayaṅkaram

Tatramadhye mahāraud-  
ram Vajrakrodham nive-  
sayet.

2. Tantra madhye nyased-

2. Jvālāmālākulam dīp-

bhīmam taptajvāla-  
samakulam

Sāttahāsam mahāraud-  
ram bhinnāñjanachayopa-  
mam

Pratyālīḍham chaturbā-  
hum dakṣiṇe vajradhāri-  
ṇam

Tarjanam vāmahastena  
tīkṣhṇadamshtrākārālinam

Kapālaratnamukūṭam  
trailokyasya vināśanam

Adityakōṭisaṅkāśham  
aṣṭanāgavibhūṣhitam

Aprajitapadākrāntām  
mudrābandhena tiṣṭhati.

tam yugāntāgnisamapra-  
bham

Bhinnāñjanamahākāyam  
kapālakṛtabhūṣhaṇam

Sāttahāsam mahāraudram  
trisu lokabhayaṅkaram

Tanmadhye tu mahā-  
bhīmam Vajrakrodham  
chaturbhujam

Dakṣiṇorddhvakare vaj-  
ram tarjanvāmapāṇinam

Krodhamudrāṇvitam  
[chaiva] pāṇibhyām dhāra-  
ṇam bhaje.

It may be noticed from the different descriptions of the deity as given in the Buddhist and Hindu versions that the original language of the Buddhist has been changed in the Hindu version to a more dignified and correct form of Sanskrit, although the deity whom the two versions describe remains the same in all particulars.

The form of Bhūtaḍāmara can now be clearly understood from the different Dhyānas quoted above. It appears from the description that Bhūtaḍāmara is one-faced and four-armed, and stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude on Aparājita—the lord of the ghosts and demons. The two principal hands are crossed against the breast in what is called the Bhūtaḍāmara Mudrā or the Krodha Mudrā which requires that the two Anāmikās

should be entwined, the two Tarjanīs slightly bent, while the middle and the last fingers should be pressed with the thumb. The second right hand of the deity is raised and carries the thunder-bolt, while the left shows the raised index finger in a menacing attitude. His appearance is awe-inspiring and terrible with his body as dark as collyrium, with a garland of heads and ornament of snakes and skulls; he resembles the Pralaya Fire and is capable of destroying the three worlds.<sup>10</sup>

The descriptions in the *Sādhnamālā* are mere copies of the *Dhyānas* already given in the original *Tantra*, as it ought to be. But the *Maṇḍala* or magic circle seems to be very complicated inasmuch as there are four rows of deities surrounding him. In the first row there are:—

(1) Mahādeva to the right (South) who carries the *S'ūla*, the chowrie, bow and *S'akti*, and sits on a bull.

(2) Viṣṇu to the left (North) who carries conch, disc, mace, and the chowrie and sits on Garuṇa.

(3) Indra behind (West) who is decked in all ornaments, with the chowrie in his hand, and sitting on an elephant.

(4) Kārttika in front (East) carrying the chowrie and sitting on a peacock.

(5) Gaṇapati in the *Is'ana* corner.

(6) The sun in the *Agni* corner.

7) Rahu in the *Nairrita* corner.

<sup>10</sup> See also *Sādhnamālā* Vol. II, pp. 513, 516, 521, where other *Dhyānas* of Bhutadamara are to be found. A description of the deity is to be found in the *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 144, 145.

(8) Nandikes'vara (Nates'vara in H) in the Vāyu corner.

In the second circle similarly there are eight deities, four in the four cardinal directions, and four others in the four intermediate corners.

(1) Umādevī to the left (North), of golden colour, decked with all ornaments, her face wearing a pleasant smile.

(2) S'ridevī in front (East) of similar appearance and carrying a flower.

(3) Tilottamā to the right (South), of similar appearance, carrying Dhūpa or incense sticks.

(4) S'as'idevī behind (West), of similar appearance carrying the light stick.

(5) Ratnas'rī (H. Rambhā) in the Agni corner, carrying Gandha or scent, and decked with all ornaments.

(6) Sarasvatī in the Nairrita corner, of beautiful appearance and carrying a Vīṇā.

(7) Surasundarī in the Vāyu corner carrying a garland of jewels (Ratnamālā)

(8) Viśālaksī in the Is'ana corner, of beautiful appearance, decked with all ornaments and resplendent with youthful bloom.

In the third circle are placed the deities presiding over the different quarters with their own weapons and symbols and Vāhanas. Thus:—

- (1) Agni in the Agni corner;
- (2) Yama in the South;
- (3) Nairṛti in the Nairṛta corner;
- (4) Varuṇa in the West;
- (5) Vāyu in the Vāyu corner;
- (6) Kubera in the North;

- (7) The Moon in the Is'āna corner;
- (8) Indra in the East.

In the fourth circle there is another set of deities which are omitted in the Hindu version on the first occasion, but appear on the second occasion at the end of the work. These eight deities are placed in the Maṇḍala as under:—

- (1) Simhadvajā in the East,
- (2) Vibhūtī in the South,
- (3) Padmāvatī behind (West),
- (4) Surahārīṇī in the North,
- (5) Varahārīṇī in the Is'āna corner,
- (6) Ratnes'varī in the Agni corner,
- (7) Bhūṣiṇī in the Nairṛta corner,
- (8) Jagatpalinī in the Vayu corner.

All these deities are beautiful in appearance, decked with all ornaments, with appropriate weapons held in their hands, and resting in the Sattvaparyāṅka attitude.

This elaborate Maṇḍala is twice described in each of the two versions of the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra, The Sādhana-mālā, however, is silent with regard to the companion deities because obviously the purpose of the work is to give a description of the main deity with the principal Mantras which may be necessary for the reference of the priests who were engaged in a variety of work in connection with the needs of their clients. But it seems very probable that the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra of the Buddhists ushered into existence a variety of Sādhana-s which are even to-day practised in several parts of India, namely the Karpasīśāhī

Sāadhan, Yakshiṇī Sādhana, Kinnarī Sādhana, Nāga Sādhana and a number of other Sādhanas. It may also be surmised that the various methods of exorcisms of ghosts, demons and other supernatural beings now current in India have much to do with the contents of this once popular and excellent Tantra.

The two versions of the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra must be considered as very lucky finds as they throw a considerable light on the vexed question of the priority or posteriority of the Tantric literature affiliated to the Hindu and Buddhist religious systems and furnish a concrete example for the purpose of comparative study. Let us hope that materials will be forthcoming for a critical edition of both the Tantras which, when published, will enable the scholar to understand and appreciate several problems that usually confront a student of the Tantras. \*

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## II. A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY INTO THE ORIGIN AND STATUS OF THE KAYASTHAS.

By

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Scholars have expressed divergent <sup>1</sup> opinions on the origin of the Kāyasthas, which has been a controversial subject for more than three quarters of a century. In some parts of the country, that is to say, in the Eastern <sup>2</sup> and Southern <sup>3</sup> India, the Paṇḍits had the belief, that the Kali Age admits of only two *varṇas* or broad divisions of the Hindū Society, viz. the Brāhmaṇa and the S'ūdra, ingrained in their minds since a long time. Accordingly they thought all the Kāyasthas, who, as a class, were neither priests nor donees of religious gifts, to belong to a caste topping the list of all the non-Brāhmaṇa, i. e., the S'ūdra castes, Ksatriyas and Vais'yas having become extinct in the Kali Age, according to their view. However, the Kayasthas of various climes, in different ages, in spite of expressing their respect for the 'gods of the earth' as a token of their personal meekness and self-denial, <sup>4</sup> as also many Brāhmaṇas have been very often doing, were regarded, by the latter, to be of a very noble extraction and, always believed themselves to be the cream of the society, <sup>5</sup> and, as such, accepted, as time

rolled on, different traditions pointing to their superior origin, not minding what others said or wrote against them.

In the last century, when a 'Digest' was prepared in order to govern the Indian population according to the laws of the country, this question took a different turn. Cases in which the illegitimate issues of Kāyasthas, in view of the laws for S'ūdras, wished to have the right of inheritance legalized in their own favour against the established custom, gave rise to the necessity of ascertaining the exact *varṇa* of Kayasthas. Some Paṇḍits <sup>6</sup> wrote that, in spite of their traditions of pure twice-born origin, the Kayasthas of modern times should, for certain reasons, be considered practically to be S'ūdras or a mixed caste. While other Paṇḍits, and among them those of Poona, <sup>7</sup> Bengal, <sup>8</sup> Benares, <sup>9</sup> Jammu-Kas'mīra, <sup>10</sup> etc, <sup>11</sup> who were considered to be the authority on such and other subjects of socio-religious character, were approached for giving their *Vyavasthās* (decisions) about the social position of the Kayasthas to help them in law-courts. This class of Paṇḍits dubbed all the Kāyasthas of noble extraction Ksatriyas <sup>12</sup> or sub-Ksatriyas. <sup>13</sup> Consequently, in common parlance of the present century, the term *Kayastha* has begun to bear the connotation of *one particular caste* including a number of sub-castes believed to be homogeneous in the point not only of calling or culture but also of social position, in the fourfold division of the Hindū Society, based on

the newly promulgated theories of their common or similar origin supposed to have taken place in the primitive age.

In the following pages I will conclusively prove that all these opinions, popular beliefs, or decisions of Pandits, are based on the ignorance of facts and not on any scientific investigation. *Kayasthas*, according to the results of my persistent study of this subject for the last twenty years, *have never formed one caste, nor have they sprung from any one common ancestor or from more ancestors of one and the same caste*; and even the *ethnic* sense associated to the word *Kayastha*, separately or in conjunction with what are nowadays known as the sub-divisions of the so-called *Kayastha* caste, has a *very late* beginning in the history of the social organizations. The views <sup>14</sup> expressed by Stein, Babū Rakhal Dās Banerji, Dr. Beni Prasad and M.M. Pandit G. H. Ojha, represent the truth to a great length; and I will show wherein their deficiency lies, when I have discussed the problem through.

Now I proceed to examine the evidence which settles the question as to who and what these *Kayasthas* were in Ancient India. It will be well to begin with the times of Ksemendra and Kalhana and from that meridian to make a survey of the nature and position of this class of people in Indian History before and after these authors.

## Part I.—THE KĀYASTHAS OF KAS'MIRA.

### A—THE KĀYASTHAS IN KSEMENDRA'S WORKS.

Ksemendra *alias* Vyāsadāsa, who was one of the greatest writers on different topics, and a contemporary, rather protégé, of King Ananta (1028-1063 A. C.) of Kas'mīra, uses the word *Kāyastha*<sup>15</sup> as a synonym<sup>16</sup> for *Divira*,<sup>17</sup> *Niyogin*,<sup>18</sup> etc.,<sup>19</sup> i. e., for various state officials, but nowhere in the ethnic sense<sup>20</sup> as is understood to be conveyed by it now-a-days. Kāyasthas have generally found a mention in his poems teeming with his sarcastic propensity. But I am inclined to believe that he was perhaps always thinking very seriously of the vices of the official class (*Kāyasthas*). This is why he describes them always in that light and sometimes even in a context where the relevancy of such a topic appears to be but forced (*e. g.* in verse 822 of Canto VIII—S'rī Kṛṣṇavatāra—in his *Das'avatāra-carita*).<sup>21</sup>

The editor of the *Narma-mālā*, Pt. Madhusūdana Kaula Shāstrī, in his introduction to this book, (*Kashmir Series*, No. 40), writes as follows:—

(p. 10.) "The *Narma-mālā* gives the tragical account of a Kāyastha or a clerk and outlines, indirectly, a low tone of moral discipline possessed during his time, by the majority of people.

(P. 11.) "Among the state officials and officers, there seem to be most prominent in order of administration, (a) the *Griha-Kṛityādhipati*, (b) the *Paripālaka*, (c) the *Niyogī*. Other officials are, in

some way or the other, subordinate to the above and work either as treasurers, judicial readers, road-inspectors or as messengers.

"All of them, i. e. the Kāyasthas .....S'aiva-cult.

(P. 12.) "The Kāyasthas' highest ambition is to occupy the port-folio of the Gṛihakṛityādhipati or Gṛihakṛitya-mahattama who, it seems, was the head of the Home Department and controlled both civil and military offices as also the Department of the Dharmārtha. <sup>22</sup> Seven executive officers work under him in this capacity and there are eight orderlies to attend on him..... He is allowed the prerogative of having officers under him of his own choice (1).

"The next officer after him is the Paripālaka, or the governor of a province (2).

(P. 13) "Paripālaka's clerk-in-chief is called Lekhakopādhyāya..... He is in charge of the confidential office record..... He is also a thorough accountant who can balance the account in a trice (3).

(P. 14) "The superintendent of finance, or the Gaṇja-Divira, who has control also over the treasury is another important Kāyastha officer who produces a sheet of expenditure and receipts before his master, Paripālaka.....He is a strong advocate of retrenchment policy (4).

"Kāyastha appears as a Niyogī also. His function, as such, is supervising the villages, and the Paraganas checking their accounts and inspecting roads etc. He is an executive officer with

first class magisterial powers to decide the civil and criminal cases just like a Tahsildār of to-day (5).

(P. 16) "The Niyogī has power to appoint or to dismiss the Paṭwarīs (Grāma-divira) (6).

"Mention is made of the Āsthāna Diviras or the clerks in the court (7).

(P. 18) ".....letter to him (i. e. Niyogī) from his Assistant: 'On the plea.....This is all. Jeṭh Sunday.' The Niyogī reads the above letter and praises the active and industrious habits of his Assistant (8)".

These remarks give a generally fair idea of the position and function of various officers and officials (known as *Kāyasthas*, or *Diviras* or *Niyogins*, or *Adhikārins*) in mediæval state. They may, however, be supplemented by the following lines:—

*Divira* <sup>23</sup> seems to have been once connected also with temple-properties and other religious endowments as with various other special offices. <sup>24</sup> Similarly, the word *Kāyastha*, which,—as derived from (the root *ci*, to collect, to heap up, + the termination *ghaṣṇ* =) *Kāya* <sup>25</sup> (principal, capital, treasury) and *sthā*, to stay,—perhaps originally stood for a small or big officer of the royal treasury, <sup>26</sup> or the revenue department, was indiscriminately used to denote any official. Again, the main function of the *Niyogin* was perhaps that of a revenue-officer or tax-collector. <sup>27</sup> This is why, in spite of using all these words, often and anon, as mere synonyms, both Ksemendra and Kalhana, sometimes use them distinctively. <sup>28</sup>



That besides these, the Prime-Minister (*Sarvādhikārin*), who must have been the highest of all the state servants, was also meant to be styled as *Kāyastha*, would be clear from the *Narma-mālā* (I. 6-8) and Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (VIII. 560). Even so was the Chief-justice included under the term *Kāyastha*, as is apparent from the *Kalā-vilāsa* (V. 5) and *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (VII. 1226). The *Paripālaka* was, in fact, more intimately connected with the Temples or Religious Endowments Department.<sup>29</sup> In the *Narma-mālā* (I. 56), the *Paripālaka* is expressly called "a *Kāyastha* similar to" the one addressed there (i. e. *Grhākṛtya-mahattama*); and, in case of the *Niyogin* and the Minister for Peace and War (*Sandhi-vigraha-kāyastha*),<sup>30</sup> the word *Kāyastha* is used as a controvertible or indispensable epithet (*Narma-mālā*, I. 148, and II. 143 respectively).

In view of the facts that Ksemendra nowhere mentions the *Kāyasthas* as a caste and that this class of people held such high and important posts as are described above, the phrases like "Kāyastha cabinet", "a Kāyastha or a clerk", "Kāyastha officers", as used by the learned editor of the *Narma-mālā* (on p. 10 and 14 of the Introduction), should be considered merely as faulty expressions.

## B. THE KĀYASTHAS IN THE WORKS OF KALHANA AND OTHERS.

Next in order is Bilhana, the famous author of the *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, who was a con-

temporary of the Kas'mīrian Kings Kalas'a (1063-1089 A. C.) and Harsa (1089-1101 A. C.) and a native of Kas'mīra, and who had become the chief Paṇḍit (*Vidyāpati*) of Parmāḍi, the King of Karṇāṭa (*i. e.*, Vikramāditya-Tribhuvanamalla, the Calukya, who reigned at Kalyāṇa in 1076-1127 A. C.). <sup>31</sup> He writes about Subhāṭa, the queen of Anantadeva of Kas'mīra (1028-1063 A. C.) in his monumental poem (Canto XVIII, verse 42) as follows :— <sup>32</sup>

“Neither *Kāyasthas* <sup>33</sup> expert in crooked writings, nor parasites skilled in subtle flattery, nor bards excelling in open praises, it were allowed to plunder her; fortune, eager, as it were, to expiate her fickleness, went from her hands solely to the houses of Gods and Brāhmaṇas.” <sup>34</sup>

Here, too, the *Kāyasthas* are not described as a caste; but are mentioned along with *Vīṭas* (parasites) and *Gāyanas* (singers) that were no caste-names. *Gāyana* was the attribute of Kanaka, who, being the younger brother of Caṇpaka, was a Brāhmaṇa and probably an uncle <sup>35</sup> of Kalhaṇa himself, who, is called a *Dvija*, *i. e.*, Brāhmaṇa, in Jonarāja's and Prājyabhaṭṭa's (Second and Fourth) *Rājatarangīṇī*s (verse 5.)

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This discussion has now brought us to the times of Kalhaṇa who composed his *Rājatarangīṇī* about 1150 A. C. He uses the word *Kāyastha* <sup>36</sup> no less than *thirty-nine* or *forty* times, and *Kāryastha* <sup>37</sup> at least twice or thrice. The latter

word means 'one in charge of an office' and is an exact synonym for *Karma-sthān-adhikārin* (VIII. 1482), the same as *Karaṇika* or *Adhikarāṇika* of Sanskrit inscriptions; since *Kārya* <sup>38</sup> is a synonym for *Karma-sthāna* (IV. 352) meaning 'an office', which is the same as *Karaṇa* <sup>39</sup> or *Adhikaraṇa* <sup>40</sup> of the inscriptions.

The word *Kāyastha* (VIII. 87, 89, 90, 107, 110, 113, 114) has its synonyms in *Niyogin* (VIII. 88, 91, 98), *Mahattama* (VIII. 93), *Kāryin* (VIII. 105) and *Adhikṛta* (VIII. 86),—all these words having been used in one and the same context. The last word is mostly met with in the form of *Adhikārin* throughout the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and sometimes even as *Adhikāra-stha* (e. g. in VIII. 180). This last form is an exact equivalent of *Kārya-stha*. Bhogasena who had been *Rāja-sthān-adhikāra-bhāk* or Chief-justice (VIII. 181) was also once *Dvāra-kārya-stha* or lord of the 'Gate' (VIII. 293-94).

Kalhana, sometimes, uses the idiom of the locative case (i. e. 'in' or 'on') to denote a person holding a particular 'office'. Sahela who was only a Brāhmaṇa of ordinary status, i. e., a sharer in the income of the *Samara-swāmī* Temple (VII. 1105 and Stein's note on II. 132), gradually became *Mahattama* (VII. 1106), passing through the post of *Arthanāyaka* (Prefect of property). This same person, again, became *Dvārāpati* (lord of the Gate), and "कर्मणे कार्य-स्थः" (VII. 1319) or, to follow Stein's reading, "कर्मणे कायस्थः"—(mark the idiom of the locative case)—i. e. the highest officer 'in' army or the

Commander-in-chief. He is obviously meant to have been a *Kāyastha* in the *Rājatarāṅgīnī* (VII. 1169-70, 1319; VIII. 93, 560). Canpaka, a *Dvāra-kārya-stha* (VII. 1177) is mentioned along with some *Dvār-adhikārins* (VII. 1178). The same idiom is used in the expression “जेयीं वट्टात्मजं महं हर्षमित्रं च कम्पने” (VIII. 960). Similarly we have it in (VIII. 560) “गौरकाभिधं सर्वाधिकारे कायस्थं विदधे” meaning ‘made one named Gauraka the Prime Minister’ (*Sarvādhikāre Kāyastham*). It appears that Stein did not mark this idiom, and hence in his translation (of VII. 1319; VIII. 560), he has misplaced the word *Kāyastha* which ought to be construed with the predicate portion in the sentence.

The upshot of this whole hairsplitting is this that the words *Kāyastha*, *Kāryastha*, *Adhikarin*, *Niyogin*, etc. are synonymously used to denote the class of people holding certain offices, that included even those of the Prime Minister, Commander-in-chief, Chief-justice, and other officers of note, in the *Rājatarāṅgīnī*. This fact taken together with the conclusions deduced from the *Narṇa-mālā* of Ksemendra proves, beyond doubt, that the people described as *Kāyasthas* were, indeed, no mean functionaries to be termed “petty officials or clerks”<sup>41</sup> as carelessly generalized by some distinguished authors.

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There is not a single passage in the whole of the *Rājatarāṅgīnī* to prove the existence of any caste named *Kāyastha* in Kalhana's knowledge, at least so far as Kas'mīra is concerned; though the

term was already being used, in association with some of what are now known as the sub-castes of *Kāyasthas*, in other parts of India.

Our author has once used the word 'kula' in the compound *dus-kāyastha-kulasya* (IV. 630); where Stein's rendering "wicked tribe of officials" ought not to create any association of an ethnic sense on the readers' mind, since it is not intended by Kalhaṇa, who really means there only "the class of vicious officials." In Sanskrit the particle *dus*, used to give the sense of badness, is always directly compounded with the word immediately following it, which is *Kāyastha* in the present context. As such, it, therefore, cannot qualify the word 'kula.' Moreover, there is nothing to show that *kula* here means 'family,' as it does in many other passages, where the author has, along with it, invariably used some expression denoting birth (e. g., II. 62; III. 61; V. 206, 480; VII. 434, 975; VIII. 263, 357, 915, 1083, 1102, 1262; etc.). Therefore, apart from the fact that hereditary *Kāyastha* families had already come into existence in other parts of India and that even Kalhaṇa's predecessor, Ksemendra, talks of an imaginary *kāyastha-kula* in Magadha (Kalāvilāsa, V. 39), it can, from the silence of these and other Kas'mīrian authors, be safely concluded that, as yet, there were absolutely no families in Kas'mīra bearing the hereditary title of *Kāyastha* in order that the ethnic sense should be attached to it. On the contrary, the expressions like '*Kāyastha-putrah*,' i. e., the son of, and not himself, a

*Kāyastha* (VIII. 664), etc., must be taken to be significant in this respect.

As is quite natural, some officials had their matrimonial relations with others in the same profession and both Ksemendra (Narma-mālā, II. 117, 132) and Kalhaṇa (Rājatar. VIII. 1620, 2043, etc.) speak in favour of the prevalence of such alliances. But examples of marriages among families of dis-similar professions (Rājatar, VIII. 561, etc.) were far too numerous. And if Kalhaṇa is not to be disbelieved, there was, at a time, even the royal policy standing in the way of *Kāyasthas* (i. e. officials) making such relations with *Kāyasthas* (officials), as would appear from the following passage in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī :—

1. "When the officials (*Kāyasthas*) are closely drawn together by the bonds of inter-marriage..., then a change for the worse in the subjects' fortune may be known for certain (IV. 351-52)." <sup>42</sup>

Stein is probably right when he says <sup>43</sup> that Kalhaṇa is here thinking, in reality, of his own times, when he puts such maxims of state-craft in the mouth of King Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa who preceded him by about four centuries. This, too, shows that even in Kaś'mīra of Kalhaṇa's days there were no '*Kāyastha families*' in the strict sense of the expression, much-less a caste of that name.

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2. The first mention of the word *Kāyastha* in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī (III. 489) is made along with the name of Durlabhavardhana <sup>44</sup>, the founder



of the Kārkoṭa dynasty of kings. But the expression that he was "an official of the fodder for horses" (*Aśva-ghāsa-kāyastha*), precludes all possibility of the association of a caste-sense in the word *Kāyastha* here.

3. Again, if *Kāyastha* were a caste-name, King Candrāpīḍa, a descendant of the above-mentioned *Kāyastha* Durlabhavardhana, should not have been addressed by a Brāhmaṇa woman, whose husband was killed by another Brāhmaṇa, while she was praying the King for justice, in the following words of the poet casting a slur on *Kāyasthas* :—

"No one is of bad character if not the son of a harlot; no one is in continual fear if not guilty; no one is talkative if not a liar; no one is ungrateful if not a *Kāyastha*. (IV. 90)" <sup>45</sup>.

4. Again, if *Kāyastha* would have been a caste-name and if King Lalitaditya-Muktapīḍa, another descendant of the *Kāyastha* Durlabhavardhana, were thinking of himself to have been a member of that caste, there would be hardly any congruity in the following passage which distinguishes Kings quite apart from the *Kāyasthas*, in course of his speech that has been partly quoted above <sup>46</sup> :—

"When the Kings look into the offices as if they were *Kāyasthas*, then a change for the worse in the subjects' fortune may be known for certain (IV. 352)."

5. Again, while Gauraka (VIII. 560-562), Canpaka (VII. 1177), S'ivaratha <sup>47</sup> (VIII. 111, 2156, 2383;

identified with the great-great-grand-father of Jayaratha, the author of the *Tantrāloka* and *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva-Vimarsinī*), Sahela (described above at length), Kanaka (VIII. 570) the grandson of Rājākalas'a <sup>48</sup> (VII. 13, 20, 22, 24, 572), and many other *Kāyasthas*, say the majority of the officials, in Kaśmīra, were evidently Brāhmaṇas by caste as is also admitted by scholars like Stein and Dr. Beni Prasad, the low-born Bhadres'vara (VII. 38-41), on the analogy of whose personal history better known to his contemporary, Ksemendra, the latter has perhaps based his description of the mythical origin of the 'Kāyastha', the hero of his sharp satire, the *Narmamālā* <sup>49</sup> (I. 17-20, 26, 32), — and Saḍḍa (*Rājatar.*, VIII. 258, 263-4) the descendant of a load-carrier named Lavaṭa (V. 177, 205), could not have been called *Kāyasthas* at the same time, if *Kayastha* would have been the name of any particular caste.

6. Lastly, again, if *Kayastha* were a caste-name, the ministers, chiefs, *tantrins*, soldiers, King, *ekāṅgas*, etc. (V. 431; VI. 132 and even 13; VIII. 110), that are mentioned in one and the same breath along with *Kāyasthas*, should be taken as so many caste-names. This would be sheerly preposterous.

Thus, we have seen that the *Kayasthas* in Kaśmīra of Kalhana's times were not a separate caste, and, for that reason, although even low-caste people, however seldom, could be so called, majority of them were Brāhmaṇas <sup>50</sup> by caste.

S'rivara (1459-1486 A. C.), the author of the Third Rājatarāṅgīnī, too, does not use the word *Kāyastha* in any ethnic sense. In one place <sup>51</sup> (III. 6), he tells us that he has composed his book like the utterances of the *Kāyasthas* for the remembrance of those to come. Here by 'the Utterances of *Kāyasthas*' he perhaps means the records that are to be dictated by, or prepared at the initiative of, big officers and preserved in the government offices for the guidance of future potentates and functionaries. In another place <sup>52</sup> (IV. 129), he says that Hassana the *Rājānaka* burnt the houses of Malla, the *Amīna* and Cunda, the *Kāyastha*, in anger. In the first instance he clearly means the record officers (*Aksapatalikas*) and in the second, too, an official of some description which is not detailed by him. Otherwise, if by *Kāyastha*, any caste is to be understood, *Amīna*, too, should be taken as a caste which would be absurd.

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Prājyabhaṭṭa, the author of the Fourth Rājatarāṅgīnī who was a contemporary of Akbar the Great, informs us in his book (verses 71-73) <sup>53</sup> that the '*Kāyasthas*' named Budhaka, Aśvīś'a, Samkhyes'a, Jugaka, etc., who were brought [to Kas'mīra] by the royal behest and were the officers (*Adhikārins*) of Siddhādes'a (ready command?), expert knowers of the produce and division of land (i. e. were surveyors) and '*writers by profession*', made three divisions of the land every-where in the dominion and provinces and wrote that one

part is assigned to Fatah the *Shāh*, the other to Utsa the *Malleka* (*Mallik* ?), and the third to S'ringāra the *Rājānaka*.

From this it would appear that, in Kas'mīra, there was the dearth of officials of the nature as described here, and this is why they were brought from elsewhere, perhaps from Āgrā-Delhī, the seat of the central government. If the word *Kāyastha* is not to be taken here, too, in the ethnic sense, the tautology cannot be avoided.

It is noteworthy that the use of the word *Kāyastha* in these chronicles after Kalhana has become so rare ] that any other [ references to it are not to be found in them. Therefore, it can be concluded that the old class of *Kāyasthas* in Kas'mīra must have ceased to be called by that epithet, rather faded into oblivion, in Akbar's time ] and afterwards.

The present paper having grown too unwieldy, I have divided it into two parts, and the first part ends here.

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In **the second part** of this paper, I will discuss out this problem with reference to other books in Sanskrit literature, to epigraphical records and to the manuscripts of Sanskrit and Hindi, all throwing a flood of light on its final solution.

Here, however, it may be briefly stated that in the promised evidence there occur the words like S'asanika-Kāyastha, <sup>54</sup> Mahā-ksāyastha, <sup>55</sup> Prathama-kāyastha, <sup>56</sup> Jyestha-kāyastha, <sup>57</sup> Jyestha-dhikarāṇika, <sup>58</sup> etc. <sup>59</sup> ; the Kāyastha surnames like

Pāṇḍe, <sup>60</sup> Miś'ra, <sup>61</sup> Tiwārī, <sup>61</sup> Dube. <sup>62</sup> Dīksita <sup>63</sup>, Des'apaṇḍita, <sup>63</sup> or Desh-pāṇḍe, <sup>63</sup> etc.; the titles of Paṇḍita, <sup>64</sup> Paṇḍitādhis'vara, <sup>65</sup> Paṇḍita-puṇḍarika-taraṇi, <sup>66</sup> Vipākṣa-vādi-simha (*lit.*, a lion to the speakers of the opposite side, *i. e.*, the vanquisher of disputants in the S'āstrārthas or learned discussions), <sup>67</sup> [Thakkura, <sup>68</sup> etc.; and the instances of the Brāhmaṇa <sup>69</sup> *Karaṇikas* (=Kāyasthas or Lekhakas) and Varma <sup>70</sup> (*or?* Ksatriya) *Karaṇikas* (=Kāyasthas or Lekhakas) in consonance with the injunctions of the Dharma- and Artha=S'āstras <sup>71</sup> to the effect that the various posts of state officials and officers or administrators should, mainly and primarily, be allotted to men of the Brāhmaṇa caste, and sometimes to Ksatriyas or Vais'yas in the formers' absence, but never to S'ūdras. <sup>71</sup>

It is, therefore, ultimately concluded that people whose descendants are now known by the name of *Kāyastha* and grouped under several castes and their various sub-castes preserving their purity of blood <sup>72</sup>, were *not originally* forming any caste of that name <sup>73</sup> as is generally understood to-day; but were recruited mostly from the Brāhmaṇa <sup>74</sup> and in some cases from the Ksatriya <sup>75</sup> or even the Vais'ya <sup>76</sup> caste or class. In course of time, the application of the term *Kāyastha* <sup>73</sup> passed from individuals to particular families holding the hereditary posts that came under the connotation of that term. Such families as belonged to one and the same caste, Brāhmaṇa, etc., were, by relations of matrimony and food, interlinked into

broader circles limited by geographical areas. These circles took the shape of the new castes<sup>73</sup> passing both as *kulas* and *jātis* of Kāyasthas in the transitional period.

About the close of this period, (many Brāhmaṇa families) of Pāṇḍes, Miśras, Tiwāris, Dubes, etc., that had, in all probability, the same people for their ancestors as the early forefathers of the modern traditional (i. e., the Kānyakubja, etc.) Brāhmaṇas, but had adopted the hereditary Kāyastha profession, were naturally mixed with the older *Brāhmaṇa-Kāyastha* families as is evident from the existence of such surnames among the *Brahma-kāyasthas* in a considerable number. But, later on, further recruitment to this section of the Society of Brāhmaṇas,—amounting to a severance of newcomers from their original stock and tending to multiply the Kayasthas who were fast adapting themselves, at least in their public life, to the contact and influence of the Mohammadan rule so much despised by the orthodox Brāhmaṇa society,—was discouraged and stopped perhaps also for fear of the latter's dismemberment and degeneracy due to the attractiveness of the at once honourable and lucrative profession of a Kāyastha, as would appear from Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa's *Nirṇayasindhu*<sup>77</sup> (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1906), p. 282. The use of the word *Kāyastha* purely in the sense of a profession was all along intelligible, and lingered even so late as the composition of the *Sūdra-kamalākara*<sup>78</sup> by the self-same author who wrote the *Nirṇayasindhu*.



(The words *Kāyastha-kula* and *Kāyastha-jāti* were already in vogue and were often used to definitely denote one or the other particular caste <sup>73</sup> of *Kāyasthas* (the sense of which was sometimes understood even without its specific mention), such as Naigama, Māthura, S'akasena, etc., or even only a 'class' not ethnically but professionally homogeneous.. However, long before the period perhaps of the decline of the Mughal Empire towards which the custodians of Hindu Mythology seem to have coined lucid stories about the legendary origin of these *Kāyastha* castes, i. e., Naigama, etc., from the Divine *Kāyastha*, Citragupta, <sup>79</sup> the Minister of, or identical with, Dharmarāja of the *Purāṇas* and the alleged son of *Brahmā*, the Primeval ancestor of all the *Brāhmaṇas*,— —apparently on the bases, *firstly*, of the homogeneity of these castes, 12 in number, inasmuch as all of them had emerged from a common stock, i. e. the *Brāhmaṇa* caste, and, *secondly*, of the identity of the function of earthly *Kāyasthas* with that of the celestial *Kāyastha*, Citragupta,—the sense of a community of *Kāyasthas* of a mutually similar origin had already begun to be associated with the word *Kāyastha-jāti*.

Thus, what were heretofore known as the castes, now came to pass as the twelve sub-castes of the *Kāyasthas* of a common description, that have been known for a long time as the *Brahma-Kāyasthas* <sup>80</sup>. Evidently the initial reason behind this nomenclature was this that they were all

recruited from the body of the Brāhmaṇa caste; but, in the legendary account, they are represented to have descended from Brahmā's son Citragupta (ब्रह्म-काय-स्य) and the two daughters of the Brāhmaṇa [Rsi] Sus'arma or Dharmas'armā and Sūrya or Manu or S'rāddhadeva. The first attempt to unite these *Brahma-Kāyasthas* or the so-called Citragupta-vams'īya-kāyasthas by means of inter-dinner was that made by Mahārāja Tikait Rāya (S'rīvāstavya), the Prime Minister of Nawāb Asaf-ud-daulah of Lucknow (Avadha) during the last quarter of the 18th century (1786 A. C.)

Besides these, there are many more castes of *Kāyasthas* found in various parts of the land. But, in fact, all the people of the Indian continent coming under the term *Kāyastha* have never, in the past or even in the present times, formed *one* caste. \*

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## Foot Notes

1. (i) "Kayastha, synonymous with Karana, from a Vais'ya, by a woman of the S'udra class. Kayasthas of Bengal, S'udras."—E. B. Cowell: *Miscellaneous Essays by H. T. Colebrooke*, Vol. II., p. 161.

(ii) "Karana,.....said to have sprung from a S'udra mother and Vais'ya father, or, according to some, from a degraded Ksatriya by a pure Ksatriya female.....*Karanamu*, *Karanam* or *Karnam*, Telegu *Karanika*.....A village accountant, one of the chief officers of a village: in the Telinga provinces he is usually a Brahman, in the Tamil a S'udra, of th Pilli tribe (p. 263).

"Kayastha.....caste sprung from a Kshatriya father and a Vais'ya mother, the occupation of which is that of the writer or accountant: it is one of the most respectable of the mixed classes (p. 272)."—H. H. Wilson: *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* (London, 1855).

(iii) "Kayastha, the name of the writer caste, proceeding from a Ksatriya father and a S'udra mother."—Max Müller: *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 514.

(iv) "The Kayasthas themselves affirm that their common ancestor.....was a Brahman, and therefore a lay claim to a high position among Indian castes (p. 305).....The sub-castes are descended, tradition affirms, from one father Chitrugupta, and two mothers—one the daughter of Suraj Rishi, the other the daughter of Sus'arma Rishi (p. 308)."—Rev. M. A. Sherring: *Hindu Tribes and Castes as represented in Benares* (1872).

(v) ".....Kayasthas. The great mass of them was undoubtedly Brahman by caste, corresponding to the present Karkun of Kas'mira." —M. A. Stein: *Kalhana's Rajataranginī*, Translated, Vol. I., (Introduction, p. 19, Westminster, 1900).

(vi) "Unfortunately the words Kayastha and Karanika are not caste-surnames upto the 11th century A. D., they are the names of scribes.....To Bühler (*vide 'Indian Palaeography,'* Section 39 [95]; *Ind. Ant.* XXXIII [1904] Appendix, p. 101) the words Kayastha and Karanika appeared 'to be merely official titles without any reference to caste'.—R. D. Banerji: *JASB*, December, 1914, p. 437.

(vii) "The number of Brahmanas was so large that the priests practically separated themselves from the ordinary Brahmanas.....Many Brahmanas took service under the government and, as petty officials and clerks, (?) were included in the generic term Kayastha. The term Kayastha.....does not yet mean a distinct caste or a group of sub-castes as at present."—Dr. Beni Prāsada: *The State in Ancient India* (Allahabad, 1928), Chap. XV—Kas'mir: and Chamba, p. 420 and f. n. 4.

p. 297, ll. 13-17 ; p. 406, ll. 8-13 ; p. 432, ll. 23-28 ; p. 433, ll. 1-4 ; p. 483, l. 18 to p. 484, l. 1 (also footnote 1 on p. 484) , and p. 509, ll. 19-22, of this very book also contain references to Kayasthas and lend full support to my theory of the origin of Kayasthas. Both Dr. Beni Prasad and myself have arrived at our conclusions quite independent of each other.

(viii) “इन वर्यों के अतिरिक्त हिन्दू समाज में दो एक अन्य विभाग भी थे। ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, आदि, जो लोग लेखक अर्थात् अक्षरकारों का काम करते थे वे कायस्थ कहलाते थे। पहले कायस्थों का कोई अलग भेद नहीं था। कायस्थ अक्षरकार का ही पर्याय-शब्द है.....। पीछे से अन्य पेशेवालों के समान इन की भी एक (?) जाति बन गई, जिस में ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, आदि, का सम्मिश्रण (?) है। सूरजधज (सूर्यचज) कायस्थ अपने को शाकद्वीपी (मग) ब्राह्मण बतलाते हैं और वालभ कायस्थ क्षत्रिय, जाति के हैं, जैसा कि सोहृदल-रचित ‘उदयसुन्दरी-कथा’ से पाया जाता है।

—MM. Pt. Gauris'ankara Hiracanda Ojha : *Madhyakalina Bharatīya Samskriti* [600-1200 A. C.] (Hindustani Academy, U. P. Allahabad, 1928), pp. 47-48.

But in an inscription of 756 A. C. (813 V. S.) its writer, Kakka, who belonged to the Valabhya section, calls himself and his father Vatsuva as *Bhatta* (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 203, ll. 32-33). The surname *Bhatta*, borne by the donees also in this inscription, proves the Valabhya Kayasthas to be originally Brahmanas.

2. “राजा.....लक्ष्मणसेन.....ने नवीन कुलपद्धति निर्माण की परन्तु उस समय भी वैदिकब्राह्मण वारेन्द्रकायस्थ और वैद्यगण उस में सम्मिलित न हुए.....जब द्विजों का यज्ञोपवीत देख कर लोग हास्य करने लगे तब ब्राह्मणों को क्रोध कर अन्य जातियों में से यज्ञोपवीत का लोप होने लगा, और—‘युगे जघन्यं हि जातौ ब्राह्मणः शूद्र एव च’—कलियुग में ब्राह्मण और शूद्र के सिवाय दूसरी जाति नहीं है—यही श्लोक प्रमाणरूप से वंग में भी प्रचार पाने लगा, इस के पीछे ही काल पीछे महामति हलायुध ने यह घोषणा की थी कि ‘वेदार्थज्ञानपराङ्मुखस्य ब्राह्मणस्य शूद्रत्वम्’—”

—Jwalaprasada Misra : *Jati-Bhaskara*, (S'ri-Venkates'vara Press, Bombay, V. S. 1983), p. 274.

The same book, however, on p. 304, mentions ‘*Sarma*’ as one of the 3½ families of the Kulina Varendra Kayasthas and, on p. 168, ‘*Kayasthayan*’ to be one of the five *upa-Brahmanas* or Brahmanas of the second class.

3. Cf. Nagesa's *Vratyata-prayas'citta-nirnaya* (Chaukhambha Sanskrit Series, Benares, No. 366), p. 4, ll. 25-26,—

“कलो न क्षत्रियाः सन्ति कलो नो वैश्यजातयः ।

ब्राह्मणाश्चैव शूद्राश्च कलो वर्णद्वयं स्मृतम् ॥”—;

p. 2, l. 24 ; p. 5, l. 4 ; p. 9, ll. 16-17 and 21 ; p. 14, ll. 11-13 ; p. 47, ll. 5-6. His pupil Vaidyanatha Payagunde (Balambhatta), in his *Chaya* on the word ब्राह्मणेन occurring in the passage “ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गी वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेयश्च” quoted in Patanjali's *Mahabhasya*, I, i, 1, writes as follows :—

“तस्माद् ब्राह्मणपदं त्रैवर्णिकोपलक्षणमिति बोध्यम् । वस्तुतस्तु कलो क्षत्रियवैश्ययोरभावं सूचयितुं तथोक्तमिति यथाश्रुतमेव तत् साधु । तथा च—  
“कलो न क्षत्रियाः सन्ति कलो नो वैश्यजातयः । ब्राह्मणाश्चैव शूद्राश्च कलो वर्णद्वयं स्मृतम् ॥ —इति स्मृतिरिति तत्त्वम् ॥”

Nagesa wrote his *Uddyota* on the *Mahabhasya* in 1714, and his pupil wrote his *Chāyā* on it in 1760, A. C., as would appear from Vasudeva Sastri Abhyankara's edition of the *Sarvadarśana-samgraha* (Poona, 1924), pp. 529, 554, and 558. This Abhyankara Sastri is the surviving representative of Nagesa's traditional school of Sanskrit learning.

In the Deccan “कलावाच्यन्तयोः स्थितिः” is a quotation that has become proverbial among the Brahmanas, meaning that in Kali Age the abode [of the caste institution] is [only] at the first and the last [of the four castes]. Pandit Harikrsna S'arma, an Audicya Brahmana of Gujarat, who completed his book, named the *Brahmanot-patti-martanda*, in S'aka Samvat 1793 or 1871 A. C., has, in this book (S. V. Press, Bombay, V. S. 1979, p. 584), quoted this verse in full as follows :—

अथ कलियुगावशाद् वर्णस्थितिर्निर्णयमाह धर्मशास्त्रे—

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्चैव त्रयो द्विजाः ।

युगे युगे स्थिताः सर्वे कलावाद्यन्तयोः स्थितिः ॥

Kamalakara Bhatta, the author of the *S'udra-kamalakara*, at the end of his book, has raised the discussion as to the existence of Ksatriyas and Vais'yas in the Kali Age. He introduces it with the sentence “ननु कलो क्षत्रियवैश्याभाव उक्तः” and quotes, first the passages from the *Bhagavata*, Skandha IX and XII, and the *Visnupurana*, and then, the present verse in the name of *Puranantara* (i. e., another Purana), as follows :—

“पुराणान्तरेऽपि—

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्र-(?)-वर्णास्त्रयो द्विजाः ।

युगे युगे स्थिताः सर्वे कलावाद्यन्तयोः स्थितिः ॥”

He concludes the objection with the words “अतः कथं द्विज-संकरजा उक्तः”, and gives his rejoinder as follows :— “नैवम्—

कलो तु वीजभूतास्तु केचित्तिष्ठन्ति भूतले ।

तथैव देवापिपुरु साम्प्रतं समवस्थितौ ॥—इति विष्णुपुराणात् ।

ब्रह्मचरविशः शूद्रा वीजार्थं य इह स्थिताः ।

कृते युगे हि तैः सार्द्धं निर्विशेषास्तदाभवन् ॥—इति मात्स्योक्तेष्व ॥

प्रच्छन्नास्थाः स्वकर्मभृताः क्षत्रियवेद्याश्च सन्त्येव क्वचिदित्यस्मत्पितृचरणाः ।”

The verse, however, as translated in the *Brahmanotpattimar-tanda*, means that the first three among [the four castes, viz.] the Brahmanas, Ksatriyas, Vais'yas and S'udras, are twiceborn: they all exist [intact] in every [other] age; but in the Kali Age their establishment [is, in the right order, only] during its beginning and ending portions. That the author of the verse thus meant a disorder of all the four castes in the middle of Kali and not of the Ksatriya and the Vais'ya castes alone in the whole of that age, is now quite clear. Even the *Vratyata-prayascitta-nirnaya* of Nagesa (p. 9, ll. 16-23) lends some support to this view.

4. (i) *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, p. 17, l. 27; Vol. XIV, p. 195, l. 35.

(ii) E. B. Cowell: *Miscellaneous Essays by H. T. Colebrooke*, Vol. II, p. 254, v. 19. [Vide fn. 5 (iii)].

(iii) *Report on the Search of Hindi MSS.*, published by the Nagari Pracarini Sabha. Benares:—for 1905, p. 48, No. 52, l. 25; for 1906-8, p. 251, No. 92 (a), l. 26; etc.

5. (i) *Epigraphia Indica*:—“न संकीर्णा वर्णाः क्वचिद्विद न सापत्न्यकलुषाः, स्थिताः, कायस्थेन प्रथितकुलश्रीलोच्चलधिषा । यशःपालेनायं विदितपदविद्येन लिखितः प्रशस्तेर्विन्वाशः कृतयुगसमाचारसदृशः ॥”.—Vol. I, p. 146, l. 31; “विद्वन्निर्जयपालशीतकिरणोऽमृन्वादराद्धन्दितो गोडः प्रालिखदक्षराणि कुमुदाकाराणि सर्पत्करः । कायस्थो जयवर्मदेववृषतेरीशश्च विभ्रत्कलाः साहित्याम्बुधिवन्धुरुद्धततमो रुन्धन्ननिन्द्याद्युतिः ॥”—*ibid*, l. 34; “.....करणकर्मनिवासपूता.....सर्वोपकारकरणैकनिधेः स्वकीयवंशस्य पात्र-सुभगस्य द्विजाश्रयस्य । कलपावसानसमयस्थितये पुरीं यां.....। तस्यां श्रुतेर्निन-दसहृद्यनिनादितायां वास्तव्यवंश ..... विद्यास्तुर्दश कलाः सकलाः समीयुः पद्माभिराममिव वल्लभमायताक्ष्यः । ..... कायस्थवंश.....। तत्सन्ततो सकलवाहस्यपारदृशा भूभूषणं...॥” — Vol. I, p. 333, ll. 1-4; “विरचितशुभकर्मोद्गमवास्तव्यवंशयः सकलगुणगणानां वेश्म पृथ्वीधराक्षः । .....धर्मलेखी” — Vol. IV, p. 170, l. 123 and XVI, p. 14, l. 31; “ब्राह्मणानन्यांश्च मान्यान्धिक्तान् कुटुम्बिकायस्थवृत्तवेद्यसहस्ररादौन्” — Vol. X, p. 48, l. 6 and XVI, p. 276, ll. 7-8; “विश्वदगुण-गणोद्गोद्गमवास्तव्यवंशः सकलविवितशास्त्रः श्रीशुभानन्दनामा ।.....धर्म-



लेखी"—Vol. X, p. 49, ll. 20-21; "द्विजधरनतिरक्तः शुद्धकायस्थवंशो हृदयधरसमाख्यः श्रीशिवस्तम्भसूनुः ।"—Vol. XIV, p. 195, l. 35.

(ii) Calcutta Indian Museum Inscription of V. S. 1345 (No. 247 of the *Appendix to Ep. Ind., Vol. V.*):—"आसीन्महर्षिः स किलादिवेदी जनोविदां कथप इत्युदारः । यं जातवेदोविधितः सुराणां सन्तृप्तये यज्ञविधिः ससर्ज ॥ ११ ॥ ... स कोऽपि कायस्थतया प्रतीतो मनोषिभिर्मनितशेषुषीकः । तद्गोत्र..... ॥ १४ ॥ श्रियो निवासादजयत् प्रवंशो वास्तव्यतामप्रतिरूपकोऽद्रिम् ॥ १५ ॥ जज्ञे मनः..... सुविद्यया धीरकुलस्य धीमान् हारुकनामा... ॥ १६ ॥ लिपिकरकुलकोटेः कोटरस्यागमानां सुकृतविटपिमूलस्याश्रयस्य द्युतीनाम् । अभवदमिततेजा जाह्ननस्तस्य सूनुः सुरगुप्तरिव भूमौ भूषतीनां क्रियार्हः ॥ १७ ॥"

(iii) "अतिनिर्मलकुलजन्मा देवद्विजगुणनरपतिनतिरक्तः । खानितमूरितडागः कारितदेवालयस्यागौ ॥ १८ ॥ सुगतप्रतिमः कृपया गुणनिधिरः भवज्जितेन्द्रियो विद्वान् । विप्रियवादे विमुखः कायस्थो नागदत्त इति ॥ २० ॥ तेन रचिता.....प्रशस्तिरियम् ॥ २१ ॥"—Cowell: *Miscellaneous Essays by H. T. Golebrooke*, Vol. II, p. 254.

(iv) *Report on the Search of Hindi MSS.* publ. by N. P. Sabha, Benares :—for 1903, "अति उज्ज्वल कायस्थकुल ता के भेद अनेक ॥.....इति श्री चतुर्दशविद्यानिधानेत्यादिविवेक(विविध?) विसदविराजमानकायस्थकुलशेखरपञ्चौलीभागचन्दसुत..."—No. 48, p. 36, l. 20; for 1905, No. 83, p. 78, ll. 8-9, and for 1920-22, No. 167, p. 423, ll. 10-11, "कायस्थ गुनियरवार है श्रीवास .....। कायस्थवंश कुलीन अति..."; for 1906-8, No. 79 (a), p. 210, l. 31—"नवलसिंह कायस्थकुल श्रीवास्तव्य स-नाम ।"; *ibid*, No. 79 (c), p. 212, l. 12—"श्रीवास्तव कायस्थ सुचि सुकुल कटेरा-वार । नवलसिंह नामाभिमत....."; *ibid*, No. 79 (k), p. 218, l. 20—"कुल को नवलसिंह नाम...। चरति में प्रधान..."; *ibid*, No. 86, p. 238, l. 19—"जाति प्रधान नहीं अभिमान"; No. 106, p. 277, ll. 10-12—"काइय चतुर सुजाने ।.....बड़े जात ते सब ते ऊँचे सबसुख कहे बखाने ॥ ११८ ॥"; for 1917-19, No. 154, p. 313 (l. 32)—314 (l. 1)—"काइयकुल श्रीवास्तव उत्तम उत्तमचन्द । रामप्रसाद भयो तने तासु महां सतिमन्द ॥ ११३ ॥"; for 1920-22, No. 166, p. 422,

11. 13 and 19—"कायस्थकुल कश्यपसुतः"; No. 187 (e), p. 450, 1. 29—"कलि के कलपतस काश्य है महादानि.....गङ्गाधर के तीर तहां कम्पिला बसति है ॥"—The last verse was written in the description of Kampilā, a very ancient town (the capital of the Pañcāla known as Kāmpilya and held by King Drupada) in the district of Farrukhabad, U. P., by Kavirāja Sukhadeva, a Kulīna Kānyakubja Mis'ra Brāhmaṇa of Kampilā, and the author of *Vṛtta-Vicāra*, a book on Hindi Prosody, in V. S. 1728 or 1671 A. C.

6. *Vide* (i) *Balambhatti* on the *Mitaksara*, Book I (J. R. Gharpure's edition, 1914), p. 314. Its author was alive a hundred years ago (cf. n. 3 above, and Gharpure's Introduction).

(ii) *Vacaspatya* of Taranatha (Calcutta, 1873), p. 1935.

(iii) *Brahmanotpattimartanda*, p. 533.

(iv) *Kayasthakulabhaskara*, by Lakṣminarayana Sarasvata (N. K. Press, Lucknow, 1881), pp. 13, 21, 38, 39, 45, 54, 73-104.

7. *The Kayastha Ethnology* of M. Kaliprasada Kulabhaskara (Hindi version, Allahabad, 1906), pp. 10-12 (No. 2).

8. *Kayasthakulabhaskara*, pp. 79-90 (bold letters); *Kayastha Ethnology* (Hindi), pp. 13-15 (No. 4).

9. *The Kayastha Samachar*, Allahabad, August-September, 1917, to February, 1918; *Kayastha Ethnology* (Hindi), pp. 12-13 (No. 3), pp. 16-18 (Nos. 5 & 7).

10. *The Kayastha Samachar* (as in Note 7 above); *Kayastha Ethnology* (Hindi), pp. 20-22 (Nos. 14-15).

11. *Kayastha Ethnology* (Hindi), p. 10 (No. 1), p. 16 (No. 6), pp. 18-20 (Nos. 8-13).

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-22 (Nos. 2-15).

13. *Ibid.*, p. 10, (No. 1); and pp. 31. 34-35, 37, 53 and 80.

14. *Vide* note 1 (v), (vi), (vii) and (viii), above.

15. Ksemendra uses the word *Kayastha* four times in his *Daś'avatara-carita* (i. e. in VII. 280; VIII. 822; X. 12; and X. 13), once in his *Caturvarga-saṃgraha* (II. 14), twice in his *Samaya-matrka* (IV. 70; V. 63), nine times in his *Kala-vilasa* (V. 1, 7, 8, 9, 18, 39, 41, 44 and 45), and nine times also in his *Narma-mala* (I. 1, 6, 22, 28, 56, 148; II. 77, 143; and III. 58). In the *Loka-prakaśa*, which is also attributed to Ksemendra, the word occurs thrice—*vide* A. Weber: *Indische Studien*, Achtzehnter Band, Leipzig (1898), p. 350 (52nd word in Chapter III), and p. 371 (s'loka 2 and 3 in Chapter IV).

The last-named book is not yet published in India. The *Deś'opadeśa* and *Narma-mala* are contained in No. 40 of the

Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies published by the Research Department, Kashmir State (Srinagar). All the other books of Ksemendra referred to in the present paper are published in the Kavyamala Series by the Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay.

16. In Canto V. of the Kalavilasa, the word *Divira* is used only as a synonym for *Kayastha* in the official sense, in verses 2, 3, 4, 11, 12, 17 and 46. The word *Kayastha* in the Narma-mala, I. 6; and I. 148, is evidently identical in sense with the word *Niyogin* in I. 4; and II. 7, 19, 29, 37, 47, 52, 63, 88, 89, 93, 100, 112, 115, 117; III. 1, 9, 21, 47, 69, 86, 87, 89, 92, 97, 112, 114 respectively. This *Niyogin* is called *Adhikarin* in (II. 56,) the same book. The latter word occurs also in the Das'avatara-carita (X. 28), Samaya-matrka (III. 30; VI. 27), Narma-mala (I. 8, and 74), and in a slightly different form in the Kala-vilasa (IX. 40) and Narma-mala (III. 97, 98, and 99).

17. The word *Divira* occurs also in the Darpa-dalana (II. 54), Samaya-matrka (II. 37, 38, 39, 40; III. 33; VII. 21, 45; VIII. 43, 108), Des'opades'a (VIII. 5, and 6), Narma-mala (I. 15, 17, 26, 83, 128, 130, 138, 141; II. (27-28 *Jivana-divira*,) 117, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 129, 131, 136; III. 1, 100, 112, 114), and Loka-prakas'a (pp. 340, 349, 350, 378, 380, 381, and 395).

18. The word *Niyogin* occurs also in the Darpa-dalana (II. 49), Samaya-matrka (I. 49; VI. 13), Kala-vilasa, (I. 90; VI. 30; IX. 40), and Narma-mala (I. 35, 42, 45, 46, 51, 104, 119); and in a slightly different form in the Darpa-dalana (II. 51), Kala-vilasa IX. 52), and Narma-mala (I. 32 and 97).

19. Other words used to denote Kayasthas or officers and officials in the Narma-mala are *Sarvadhikarin* (I. 8); *Gananapati* (I. 9), (the same as the *Ganaka* or *Ganasthula* or *Samkhyapati* in Loka-prakas'a, p. 350, spelt also as *Gampatya* (?) in the instrumental case, *ibid*, p. 391); *Grhakarta-mahattama* (I. 32; III. 49 and 88); *Paripalaka* (I. 55, 61, 80, 85, 88, 96; and III. 90); *Lekhadhikarin* (I. 74, et seqq.) also called *Lekhakopadhyaya* (the *Pattopadhyaya* of Kalhanas Rajatarangini, V. 397); *Niyogin's Assistant*, also called *Khvas'apati* or *Tuna-raksaka* (II. 93, 100; and perhaps also III. 87), (the same as the *Khavasa-divira*, in Lokaprakasa, p. 350); *Dharmadhikarna-stha-divira*, i. e. the officer of the court of [Chief-]justice (II. 117) or *Nagaracarya* (City-prefect?) or *Bhogin* (II. 118) or *Asthana-divira* (II. 120, 121, 127, 129, 136); and *Sandhi-vigraha-kayastha*, i. e., the Minister for peace and war (II. 143).

20. The word 'kula' meaning 'family' is once compounded with the word *Kayastha* in the Kala-vilasa (V. 39), as follows :—

मगधे (धा ?) नामहमभवं कायस्थ-कुले स्वकर्मणो विमुखः ॥

'I was born in the family of the Kayasthas (officials) of (the) Magadha (Kingdom).'

But here there is no reference to any particular caste or sub-caste of officials. Magadha was an equally important seat of culture as Kas'mira, as would appear from the Tibetan account of the [Tibetan] Minister Thonmi receiving instruction in reading and writing from the Brahman Li byin of Magadha or Kas'mira in the seventh century A. C. (—Vide *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 266, 267).

21. (Bhisma's exhortation to Yudhishthira :—)

प्रजाकार्यं सकृत् श्रवणमभिभूतार्तवचसां

स्पृष्टा काम-क्रोध-ममद-मद-मान-व्युपरमे ।

क्षितेः कायस्थेभ्यः कृपणपरिरक्षा प्रतिपदं

गुणसङ्गः श्रियानयमुदयलक्ष्या क्षितिर्भूताम् ॥

'Devotion to the popular works ; hearing (the petitions of) the humiliated and distressed ; yearning for the restraint of passion, wrath, folly, infatuation and pride ; protection, at every step, of the poor from the officials (कायस्थेभ्यः) of the land ;—such addiction to merits along with the beauty of prosperity is beneficial to kings'

22. Dharmartha=Religious Endowments.—R. M. Shastri.

23. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 27, p. 122, l. 7 ; Ksemendra's *Samaya-matrka*, III. 33 and VIII. 108 ; Des'opades'a, VIII. 5 ; *Narma-mala*, I. 83 ; Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, V. 177 to be read along with V. 166-176 and VII. 42-43.

24. *Samaya-matrka*, II. 37-40 ; *Narma-mala*, I. 128 ; II. 27-28, 117, 120-121 ; *Lokaprakasa*, pp. 349-350.

25. Cf. Panini, III. iii, 41, according to which our word may have been derived in the last sense mentioned there. Cf. also the *Ramasami* on the *Amarakosa*, II. vi. 71 and II. iv. 59. Of course, the word कायस्थ did not exist in the times of Panini and even long after.

26. *Dasavatara-carita*, X. 12 ; *Darpa-dalana*, II. 51 ; *Kola-vilasa*, V. 7 ; (*ibid.* IX. 52) ; *Rajatar.*, VII. 1169 ; VIII. 473 ; *Udaya-sundarikatha* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XI), p. 8, ll. 7, 15, 19, 20, 28 ; p. 10, ll. 15, 16-28, 29 ; p. 11, ll. 1, 2, 20-23, 26 ; *Apararka* and *Mitaksara* on *Yajnavalkya-smṛti* (I, 334 or 336) ; etc.

27. *Samaya-matrka*, I. 49 ; *Narma-mala*, I. 43-44 ; III. 9, and 86.

28. *Narma-mala*, III. 1, 112, 114 ; *Rajatar.*, VIII. 181.

29. *Narma-mala*, I. 52-55, 57, 65, 67-69, 85, 88, 90-96.

30. The appellation *Kayastha* was especially borne by Ministers for Peace and War, who had to deal with foreign policy and were, according to the *Dharma-s'astras*, authorized to write the *raja-sasanas* (i. e. the royal documents or charters). As

such, they generally appear in Indian inscriptions. It is in this capacity that a *Kayastha* or *Lekhaka* (writer) is, according to the law-books and the sections of Puranas dealing with the *Rajaniiti* (state-craft), required to be a master of all the S'astras and languages and proficient in the scripts of all the countries ('सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः', 'सर्वभाषाविशारदः', 'सर्वदेशाक्षराभिज्ञः'). All the evidence of this type will be examined in the Second Part of this Paper.

In the *Yas'astilaka-campu*, composed by Somadeva Suri in S'aka Samvat 881 or in 959 A. C. and published by the N. S. Press, Bombay, we read, on p. 470 of Part I, as follows:—

वाचयति लिखति कथयति गमयति सर्वा लिपौश्च भाषाश्च ।

आत्म-पर-स्थिति-कुशलः सप्रतिभः सन्धिविग्रही कार्यः ॥

'One who reads out, writes, composes (or drafts) in, and explains, all the scripts and languages, and, being intelligent, is smart enough to gauge the situation of his own side and that of others (or enemies), should be appointed as the Minister for peace and war (*Sandhi-vigrahin*)'.

In the Sanskrit inscriptions, the *Kayasthas* of this position are very often found describing their efficiency in various scripts especially in crooked writing, in different languages, in the art of poetry, and in all or several S'astras.

According to the *Brhatparasara-samhita* (B. S. S. LXVII, Ch. xii, S'l. 10, p. 233), *Patra-kaumudi*, etc., this *Kayastha* or *Raja-lekhaka*, like many other officials, was to be chosen from the Brahmana caste. Hence we find that Mankha (*Rajatar.*, VIII. 3354), his brother Alankara (*Srikantha-carita*, III. 62) who was, at first, the Superintendent of treasury (*Rajatar.*, VIII. 2423), Jalhana (*Srikanthac.*, XXV. 75), etc., who held this office and are sometimes termed even as *Niyogins* (i. e. *Kayasthas*) were generally Brahmanas by caste.

In view of these facts, remarks like those as made by the editors of the *Kavyamala* Series in the Preface of the *Sahridayananda* Kavya or by John Beames in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V., p. 57 (last footnote), etc., based, as they are, on ignorance, must be discarded.

31. Kalhana's *Rajatar.* VII. 935-937 and Stein's note thereon; Bilhana's *Vikram.*, XVIII. 70-85 (his own genealogy).

32. नो कायस्थैः कुटिललिपिभिर्नो विटेश्चाहुदत्तै—

न प्रयत्नस्तत्र न पटुभिर्लुब्धिता गायनेश्च ।

देवागारद्विजयुसृष्टाण्येव यत्संघट्टिता

याता लक्ष्मीर्निजचपलतादोषशुद्ध्यर्थिनीव ॥

33. See note 30 above.



34. G. Bühler: *Introduction to the Vikramanka-devacarita*, p. 9. The literal translation of the verse would be as follows :—

'Stored by whom, the Wealth (*personified*), not having been spoiled by *Kayasthas* [who were masters] of crooked writing, parasites [who were] clever in flattery and singers [who were] smart in praising on the face, went, eager, as it were, to expiate herself of her blemish which is fickleness, only to temples and houses of Brahmanas and preceptors.'

35. *Rajatar.*, VII. 1117; Stein's note on it; and *Intr.* p. 7.

36. III. 489; IV. 90, 351, 352, 621, 623, 629, 630; V. 175, 180, 181, 184, 265, 431, 439; VI. 132; VII. 38, 149, 1169, 1226, 1695; VIII. 87, 89, 90, 107, 110, 113, 114, 131, 258, 276, 326, 473, 560, 562, 570, 664, 1817, 2383.

37. VII. 1177, 1319; VIII. 294. In the second of these three references Stein reads '*Kayastha*'. If his reading is correct, the number of occurrences of the word *Kayastha* would be forty.

38. *Rajatar.* VIII., 93, 99, 293, 1118, 1482, 1624, etc.

39. E. g., *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 41, l. 28; VIII, p. 159, l. 24; etc.

40. E. g., *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 211, l. 14; VI, p. 33, l. 57; p. 299, l. 34; XIII, p. 340, l. 18; XV, p. 5, l. 34; etc.

41. (i) Dr. Beni Prasad: *The State in Ancient India*, p. 420 (*vide* note 1, vii, above); (ii) MM. G. H. Ojha: *Madhyugadina Bharatiya Samskrti*, p. 47 (*vide* note 1, viii, above); (iii) M. Kaula: *Narma-mala, Intro.*, p. 10; (iv) "इस जाति की बुद्धि बहुत तीव्र है, और लिखने का काम बहुत काल से इनके हाथ में चला आता है और इनमें लोग बड़े ऊँचे पदों पर नोकरी करते हैं, मुसलमानी शासनकाल में.....उनके साथ मिल कर काम करते रहे परन्तु हिन्दुराज्य में इस जाति को इतना उच्च पद पाना नहीं पाया जाता, हाँ उस समय भी इन के हाथ में कुछ 'छोटी कच्चा का राजकाज' पाया जाता है।"—Jwalaprasada Misra:

*Jati-Bhaskara* (Samvat 1983), p. 304.

But the evidence reserved for the second part of the present paper is teeming with numerous instances to prove that *Kayasthas* generally held almost all the high and responsible posts of government or administration, including provincial governorship and Prime Ministership, all over the country, in different centuries of the Hindu period of History since their appearance in genuine historical records. Their regular history remains yet to be written; and I am collecting material for the same.

42. अचोन्मोदाहसम्बन्धेः कायस्थाः संहता यदि ॥३५१॥

कर्मस्थानानि वीक्षन्ति समाप्ताः कायस्थवद् यदा ।

तदा निःसंशयं क्षीयः प्रजाभारविपर्ययः ॥३५२॥



43. Cf. his note on the above (i. e. IV., 348) and *Introd.*, pp. 37 and 93.

44. हेतुं सरूपतामात्रं कृत्वा, जामातरं नृपः ।

अथाश्वघासकायस्थं चक्री दुर्लभवर्धनम् ॥

45. नापौंश्चलेयो दुःश्रीलो नाद्रोहो नित्यशङ्कितः ।

नावाचालो मृषाभाषी नाकायस्थः कृतघ्नधीः ॥

46. See note 42 above.

47. शिवरात्र्युत्सवे श्लोकममुं शिवरथाभिधः ।

विद्वान् पठंस्तेन दृष्टात्सर्वाध्यात्तो व्यधीयत ॥८॥१११॥

निःसंशयं हतं ज्ञात्वा सुजिज्ञं राजोपजीविनः ।

तत्र स्थितं शिवरथं सर्वद्वैष्यमबन्धयन् ॥८॥११२॥

तदन्तरं शिवरथो द्विजः प्रचुरचाक्रिकः ।

कायस्थपाशः पाशेन गलं बद्ध्वा व्यपद्यत ॥८॥११३॥

For the formation of the expression कायस्थपाशः (VIII. 2383), like that of मूलपाशस्य (VII. 1696) and सचिवपाशेन (VIII. 2229), used in the *Rajatar.*, see Panini (V. iii. 47)—“याप्ये-पाशप”० याप्य is a synonym of अपम in the *Amara-kosa* (III. 54).

48. Perhaps the ancestor of Bilhana, cf. *Vikramankadeva-carita*, text, XVIII. 70-79; and *Introd.*, p. 16, n. 1., (where ‘Mukti-kalasa’ is apparently a misnomer for ‘Rajakalasa’.) There is nothing against this identification in the available evidence.

49. In *Narma-mala* (I. 108-113), the following things in the camp-luggage of a *Kayastha* show that he used to be a Brahmana by caste, as they are needed in the daily Agnihotra and worship by a Saiva Brahmana :—Tamra-kunda, Sruk and Sruva (two sacrificial instruments), Aksasutra (rosary of Rudraksa), Snana-satika (silken cloth for wearing after bath and at worship), Padukas (wooden sandals), Mantra-pustika and Stotra-mantra (spell-book and prayer-book), Naksatra-patrika (almanac), Gangamrd (dust or sand of the Ganges), Bilva [-leaves], and Pavitra-sutraka (the sacred-thread), the necessity of changing which may arise at any time.

In I. 80 and II. 94, 97, 99, the *Paripalaka* and the *Niyogin* are addressed as “your worship”, ‘his worship’ (*Padah*), i. e., with reverence that a Brahmana deserves.

The messengers (*Karyaduta*, *Bhatta-bhagavata*—I. 46, 50. 83), and *Asthana-bhattas*, i. e. the *Adhikarana-dvijas* (II. 137, 144), who are also admitted to be *Kayasthas* by the editor of the *Narma-mala* on obvious grounds, are undoubtedly Brahmanas.

50. Dr. Beni Prasad has rightly remarked that there being a very large number of Brahmanas, the priests, who organized themselves into corporations in numerous places and threatened or carried out hunger-strikes, practically separated themselves

from the ordinary Brahmanas, from amongst whom many took service under the government and were, thus, as a class, called *Kayasthas*. The word *Prayastha*, meaning 'one sitting for fasting himself to death' (cf. Ksemendra's *Narṇa-mala*, I. 39, 41, 84; II. 70. 98; Kalhana's *Rajatar.*, VIII. 110; Jonaraja's *Rajatar.*, 155), was generally used for the former class of Brahmanas to denote their characteristic feature; and methinks the word *Kayastha*, also meaning 'one who abides in the body' as exactly opposed to the idea in *Prayastha*, denoted the other class of Brahmanas who as government servants, generally sided with the interests of the state against the organized attempts of hunger-strikers, and, at occasions, also instigated the latter even against the supporters of the royal authority or the king himself when in the wrong (e. g., *Rajatar.*, VI. 334-336; VII. 13, 20; etc.).

51. कायस्थोक्तिवदेवेयं कृता स्मृत्यै भविष्यताम् ।  
दृष्ट्वेदं ललितं काठ्यं कुर्वन्त्वन्वैत्र पण्डिताः ॥  
Cf. also S'rivara's *Rajatar.*, I, i, 10.

52. मवलामीनग्रहांशुन्दकायस्थसद्वनानि च ।

राजानको हस्सनः स ददाह स्त्रपुह-कुधा ॥

53. तत्र राजानयानीतेः सिद्धादेशाधिकारिभिः ।  
देशोत्पत्तिविभागश्चै-स्तत्त्वैर्लोककर्मभिः ॥  
कायस्थैर्बुधकाश्चौशसंख्येशजुगकादिभिः ।  
भागत्रयं विधायोर्व्या राष्ट्रदेशेषु सर्वतः ॥  
भागः कताहशाहस्य मल्लिकोत्पद्य चापरः ।  
तृतीयोश्च राजानयज्जगत्स्यैवलिख्यत ॥

54. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 152, ll. 71-72.

55. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, Part I (July, 1926), p. 46, ll. 54-55.

56. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 130, l. 5; *ibid.*, p. 139, l. 4; *ibid.*, p. 142, l. 5.

57. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 250, l. 47; *Gauda-lekha-mala*, p. 16, l. 47; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXL (1910), p. 200, l. 7; *ibid.*, p. 204, l. 6.

58. *JASB*, August, 1910, p. 435, ll. 5-6; *ibid.*, August, 1911, p. 476, ll. 5-6; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVIII, p. 76, ll. 5-6.

59. कायस्थो जयवर्मदेवनृपतेः—"the *Kayastha* of the ruling prince Jayavarmadeva"—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 146, ll. 34 and note No. 98; तत्कालकायस्थपं—"the then *Kayastha* Pandit"—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 11, fn. I; etc.

These expressions (54-59) are of the same category as यशदास्त-कायस्थ (*Rajatar.*, III. 489), and are empathic enough to prove that the word *Kayastha* was used merely as an individual's

official title in these places, where it cannot be explained as a caste-name. For a long time the latter sense was not known in the ancient records and literature; and therefore it is a blunder to take this term, as used in Visnu, Yajna-valkya, Pancatantra, Mrccakatika, Mudraraksasa, Naisadhiyacarita, etc., in the sense of a casto.

60. J. Eggeling: *India Office Library Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Part II, p. 536 (the scribe of No. 1680); *the First Triennial Report on the Search of Hindi MSS. for the years, 1906, 1907, and 1908*, published by the Nagari Pracarini Sabha, Benares, p. 237, l. 15, No. 84; *ibid*, p. 252, l. 4, No. 92 (b); Nagendranatha Vasu: *Kayasthera-varna-nirnaya*, p. 132; etc.; etc.

Among the Srivastavya Kayasthas, Pandes of Amodha, Dihakota, Punavala, Tilhara, etc., are well-known. See also the *Kayastha-Samacara* (Hindi), Allahabad, January, 1930, p. 6, fn. 16.

61. *Decision of the Patna High Court on F. A. No. 207, of 1922*, reprinted by Raja Indrakarana Bahadur, of Hyderabad, Deccan, 1927, p. 20; N. Vasu: *Kayasthera-varna-nirnaya*, p. 132; G. N. Sinha's Pamphlet, p. 24.

Among the Sri-vastavyas, Misras of Bataha and Tiwaris of Mithavela and Patara are mentioned by Pandit N. Vasu.

62. *Annual Report on the Search of Hindi MSS. for 1900*, Appendix I, p. 125, ll. 15-16 and 38; p. 127, l. 7; p. 129, l. 18; p. 130, ll. 8 and 29; p. 131, l. 14; G. N. Sinha's Pamphlet, p. 24.

63. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIV (Kolhapur), Chap. III, p. 64, l. 32; *Census of India, 1901, Vol. I. (India—Ethnographic Appendices)* By H. H. Risley, pp. 87, 90-91.

64. (i) “लिखितमिदं कायस्थान्वयप्रसूतेन वालिगपण्डितेन”—*BBJRAS* (1876), p. 334.

(ii) चरकसंहिता...It was copied by a श्रीवास्तवकायस्थ-पण्डित named रत्नपाल...from Jejābhukti...in Bundelakhanda—*Palm-leaf MSS., Durbar Library, Nepal* (1905). by MM. Pt. Haraprasād S'āstrī, Preface, p. xxi.

(iii) रामायणम्... (कायस्थ)पण्डितश्रीश्रीकुर्यात्मजश्रीगोपतिनालेखीदम्—*Ibid*, the Historical Introduction by Prof. C. Bendall, p. 18; *JASB*, (1903), p. 18.

(iv) ... तत्कालकायस्थपञ्चमत्तवार(ध)त्रस—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 11, fn. 1.

(v) भिषजप्रिया...ग्रन्थकर्ता सुदर्शनवेद्य...हमीरपुर-निवासी किसी प्रसिद्ध पण्डित के पांच पुत्रों में से हैं—*Annual Report on the*

*Search for Hindi MSS. (for 1905)*, by S'yam Sundar Dās, B. A., p. 82.

Compare this with the following:—इति शार्ङ्गधरे...॥ इति श्रीवास्तवकुलप्रकाशकवेद्यसुदर्शनविरचितायां भिषजप्रियायां...संदेशः ७॥ संवत् १८७१ शक १७३६—First Triennial Report (1906-1908) on the Search for Hindi Manuscripts, p. 280-1 (No. 112 (a)).

This Sudarsana was most probably descended from the family of Adhamalla Srivastava of Hamirapura (in Bundelakhanda), the author of the शार्ङ्गधरदीपिका (published both at Calcutta and Bombay), who in his introductory verses writes as follows:—

श्रीवास्तवकुलप्रकाशमणयो ये पूर्वजा विश्रुताः, श्रीहम्मीरपुरे महाजननते येषां स्थितिः कथ्यते...॥४॥ तदन्ये किं बहुना प्रसिद्धः श्रीचक्रपाणिः कुलकैरवेन्दुः । नानागुणालीयमभूच्च यस्य समस्तवेद्योद्घटनादिरूपा ॥५॥ तस्य बुद्धिसुभगस्य तनूजो भावसिंह इति भूषतिमान्यः । सुश्रुतादिकरहस्यविधिज्ञो यो यशांसि विपुलानि च लेभे ॥६॥ तस्यात्मजो दीर्घमतिः प्रहृष्टो नाम्नाढमल्लोत्पनि-वन्धदर्शी । तेन स्वगुर्वर्चनतरपरेण विधास्यते शार्ङ्गधरप्रकाशः ॥७॥

The physician Adhamala (as he calls himself at the end of the Prathama Khanda), flourished during the reign of Sri Jaitrasimha, the King of Hasti-kanta-puri near the river Carmanvati (as is clear from the 9th introductory verse), perhaps during the 12th century of the Saka era (as might have been the sense of the concluding verse No. 3 of his commentary on the Uttara Khanda in its correct form).

To this very ancient Kayastha physician Pandits' family also belonged perhaps the scribe of the *Rasaprabodha* (No. 16, of the *Annual Report on the Search of Hindi MSS. for 1905*, p. 15), who observes as follows:—

“फागुन सुदौ ६ संवत् १८०७ मुकाम रसधान लिखत लाला जुगल-किशोर काइय वेद हम्मीरपुर के ॥”

(vi) भादौ व दि ५ संवत् १८१० पोथी पं० श्री लाला रामलाल कौ,— p. 1, MS. No. 1 of the same Report, i. e. प्रेमदीपिका (place of deposit.—Lālā Jānakīprasāda, Chhatrapur, C.I.).

(vii) Balvanta Rao, a prominent Kayastha Prabhu, who died in 1843, obtained the title of 'Pandita Sumanta' from Maharaja Pratapasimha of Satara in 1827—N. Vasu's *Kayastha-varna-nirṇaya*, pp. 114 and 115.

(viii) M. Kamta Prasad, a Gauda Kayastha, who was well-versed in Samskrit as well as in Persian and who was at Datia (C. I.), first a Vakil and afterwards the Munsif, was known by the name of Pandita Madanagopala.—Professor Ramadasa Gauda, M. A.: *Taskira-e-Sucaru-namsi*, p. 47.

65. श्रीवास्तव्यान्वयेनेषा प्रशस्तिममलाक्षयः । लिखिता रामदासेन पण्डिताधौश्वरेण च ॥१३॥

—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II., p. 231, l. 14.

66. वास्तव्यवंशशृङ्गोविन्दश्चैदिमण्डलात् । कृती, कालक्रमेणासौ देशं तुल्यमण्यमगतः ॥८॥ पुत्रस्तस्य जनानुरागाजलधिर्भूत्सभाभूषणो ज्यायान् पण्डितपुण्डरीकतरणिर्मानेऽभिधानोऽभवत् । यो धात्रीतिलको निजाऽमलकुलालङ्कारहारोपमो विख्यातस्त्रिपुरान्तकैकचरणाम्भोजैकभङ्गो भुवि ॥९॥ श्री-सामेत्तनयः... । राजत्युन्मदवादिद्वन्द्वलनो लौलाविहारः श्रियः, शैलाचारवित्तैकमुष्णनिलयः श्रीरत्नसिंहः कविः ॥११॥.....देवगणस्तनूजः ॥१३॥ पौषद्रवसान्द्रविन्दुवसतिर्यस्यास्यवाक्चन्द्रिका, विद्वच्चक्रचक्रोरचञ्चुपुटकैरापी-यमानाऽनिशम् ।.....॥१५॥ श्रीबोधध्वान्तसन्तानकरिकुम्भविहारणः । जगत्सिंहोऽस्य तनयः सिंहवद् भुवि राजते ॥१६॥ चक्रं देवगणो घामं बिल्वपाखिपिनाकिनः । साम्बाग्रामे तुषाराद्रिशिखराभोगभासुरम् ॥२४॥ नि. शेषा-गमशुद्धबोधविभवः काव्येषु यो भव्यधीः सत्कर्तृमूढिपारगो भृगुसुतो यो दण्डनीतो मतः । कन्दो-ऽलङ्कृति-शब्द-सम्यक्कला-शास्त्रा-ऽब्जचण्डश्रुति-श्रुते देवगणः प्रशस्तिममला श्रीरत्नसिंहात्मजः ॥२६॥

—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 47.

'The learned (*Kṛti*) Govinda of the [Sri-]Vastavya family came from Cedi (in C. I.) to Tummana (C. P.). His son named Mame was, the gem of the King's Assembly, the sun for the lotuses [in the form] of Pandits, an ornament of the earth, likened to the pearl-necklace to decorate his pure family, and a renowned Saiva in the world. The illustrious Mame's son, the illustrious Ratnasimha, the poet, is shining as the vanquisher of the host of the proud disputants (i. e., speakers of the *prima facie* view in the *Sastrarthas* or learned discussions), the pleasure-grove of the goddess Sri and the abode of chastity, sacred usages, true knowledge and religious merit. He has the son, Devagana, whose sweet and perspicuous speech (i. e., teaching), is constantly received eagerly by the circle of the learned. His son Jagatsimha shines on the earth as a lion breaking the elephant-temples in the form of the pitched darkness of ignorance. Devagana, built, in the village of Samba, the lofty and resplendent shrine of God Śiva. Sri-Ratnasimha's son, Devagana, who has the wealth of the pure knowledge of the complete Scriptures, is talented in Poetry, has sailed across the Ocean of the right reasoning, is admitted to be Bhṛgu's son (*Sukra* or *Parasurama*) in Dandaniti (i. e., in the science of Politics or in administering justice, i. e., punishment) and is the sun for the lotuses [in the form] of the sciences of Prosody, Rhetoric, Grammar. and love, composed the spotless eulogy.'

67. काश्यप्रीयाऽक्षपादीय-नयसिद्धान्त-वेदिना ।

विपक्षवादिभिर्दिनेन रत्नसिन्धेन धीमता ॥२३॥

वास्तव्यवंशकमलाकरभानुनेन सासेषुतेन रचिता रुचिरा प्रशस्तिः ॥२४॥

—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 42, ll. 26-27.

'The charming eulogy is composed by Mame's son, the wise Ratnasimha, who is proficient in the doctrines of Kasyapa's (i. e., Kanada's) and Aksapada's (i. e. Gautama's) Naya (i. e., the *Vaiśeṣika* and the *Nyaya* Śāstras respectively), who is a lion to the speakers of the opposite side (i. e., disputants in the *Śāstrarthas*), and who is the sun to the assemblage of lotuses in the form of the [Sri]-Vastavya family.'

In the above-noted *Prasasti* composed by his son Devagana, he (i.e. Ratnasimha) is called उन्मद-वादि-वृन्द-दलनः "the vanquisher of the host of proud disputants" (n. 66. verse 11), as has been already observed.

Both of these *Prasastis* prove that the ancestors of the modern Śrivastavya Kayasthas were typical Brahmanas in culture.

68 (i) *Sri-Vastavya Thakkuras*:—*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I., p. 331, l. 3; *ibid.* IV, p. 104, ll. 26-27; *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, Vol. III, p. 58; *India Office Cat. of Sans. MSS.* by J. Eggeling, Part II, p. 536 (Scribe of MS. No. 1680); *JRAS*, 1927, p. 695; Ajayagadha Stone Inscription of V. S. 1345 deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (No. 247 of the *Appendix to Ep. Ind. Vol. V.*), last line; N. Vasu's *Kayasthara varna-nirnaya*, p. 132, (where Thakuras of Paraśarma are mentioned); *Report on the Search of Hindi MSS.*, (for 1905), p. 20, l. 28. No. 22; p. 32, l. 8, No. 34; p. 33, ll. 6-7, No. 35; *ibid.* (for 1906-8), p. 197, l. 25, No. 69 (b) p. 208, l. 20, No. 77; p. 249, ll. 8-9, No. 91 (h); p. 286, l. 9, No. 117; etc.; etc.

(ii) *Mathura-Kayastha Thakkuras*:—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 57, l. 6; *Jesalmere MSS.* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXI), p. 49; etc.

(iii) *Gauda-Kayastha-Thakkura*:—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 41, l. 34.

(iv) *Karana-Kayastha Thakkura*:—*Cat. of Buddhist MSS.*, Vol. I, ed. by Pandita Haraprasad Sastri (Calcutta, 1917). p. 21 (Scribe of MS. No. 8067).

[v] *Other Kayastha or Karanika Thakkuras* of unspecified sub-division :—*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 106, 107, l. 24; *ibid.* p. 111, l. 22; *ibid.* p. 114, L., and Vol. V., p. 116, l. 28; Vol. VII., p. 100, l. 37; Vol. VIII, p. 153, l. 21 (*cf.* Vol. IV. p. 104, ll. 26-27), *ibid.* p. 158, l. 30



(cf. Vol. IV, p. 126, l. 31 and p. 128, l. 31—where the same person is raised from the post of a *Karanika* to the more exalted post of the *Aksapatalika* and *Mahaksapatalika* respectively; and *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 20); Vol. XIII, p. 220, l. 34; XVIII, p. 223, l. 36; *ibid.*, p. 226, l. 32; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 195, 200, 202, 204, 206, 208, 209; Vol. XVII, (1888), pp. 226-228, ll. 18-19; *ibid.*, p. 236, ll. 45, 46 [where the *Karanika* Dharesvara is a *Mahathakkura*], 47; etc; etc.

*Karanika* which means 'one in a *Karana* or office', i. e. an official, is merely a synonym of *Kayastha* (*vide Ep. Ind.*, Vol I., pp. 77, 81, l. 26; p. 85, n. 60; p. 129, l. 27; pp. 330-338, ll. 1-4; Vol. IV., p. 104, ll. 26-27; Vol. VIII, p. 153, l. 21; pp. 158 and 159, l. 24 (cf. Vol. V, p. 116, l. 28 and Vol. IV, p. 114, L.).

69. *E. g.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 184, ll. 314-318; Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 263, [*vide* n. 1, ii, above]. Examples of *Sivaratha*, *Sahela*, *Gauraka*, etc., are already given above under the detailed examination of the *Rajatarangini*.

70. *E. g.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 42 ll. 27-28; p. 178, l. 39; VI. p. 33, l. 58; X. pp. 150, 152, ll. 65-67.

71. *Manu*. VII. 58; VIII. 9, 11, 20; *Brhatparasara-samhita*, XII. 10-12; *Katyayana* and *Sukra* iv. 14, quoted in the *Mitaksara* on *Yajnavalkya*, II. 2-3; *Sukraniti*, II. 426-427 to be read along with 69-70; *Viramitrodaya*, *Vyavaharadhyaya* [Jivananda's edition, 1875], p. 33, from l. 9 to the bottom; p. 35; and p. 43, ll. 1-6, and 10-21; etc.

72. *Kayastha* castes, e. g. (a) *Brahma-kayasthas* known also as *Citragupta-vams'iya-kayasthas*, sub-divided into 12 kinds *Srivastavya*, *Gauda*, *Naigama*, etc; (b) *Prabhus*, sub-divided into *Dhruva*, *Candraseniya* and *Patane Prabhus*; etc.

It has been customary among the *Kayasthas* of all sections to make a strict investigation about the purity of blood of both the paternal and maternal lines of that particular family with which another family has to enter into marriage relations; and, in case of any defect or doubt discovered in either party, no marriage bonds could take place. Intermarriages between different sub-sections were prohibited until the recent times. Even now, there is no question of the intermarriages between different castes of *Kayasthas*, e. g. between *Prabhus* and *Brahma-Kayasthas*.

73. As is already proved by the first part of the present paper and notes 54-59 and 69-70.

The word *Kayastha*, from its beginning, was used only to denote an individual title as in *Visnu-smṛti* and

other ancient books that mention it. The oldest inscriptions, so far discovered, mention it in the compounded form of *Prathama-kayastha*, clearly an official title, with the names of Sambapala (443-4 and 448 A. C.), Vipra-pala (476-495 A. C.) and Skandapala (543-44 A. C.) in the Gupta copperplates found at Damodarpur, Dist. Dinajpur, in Bengal (see note 56 above, and *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 193). From the 2nd down to the 8th century of the Christian era, this was perhaps the only sense in which the word *Kayastha* was used throughout the length and breadth of India in books and epigraphs [e. g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 75, l. 49; Vol. XIII, p. 119, l. 25; the well-known Kanasva Ins., *Ind. Ant.*, XIII (1884), pp. 162-65; etc.].

This sense continued for several centuries more e. g. 9th century—*Ep. Ind.*; IV, 250, 47; 10th century—XIX, 248, A 26 and B 28; 11th century—I, 36 29; I, 146, 31; I, 262, 33; III, 344, 42; III, 350, 47; VIII, 143, 43; XI, 95, 38; XI, 152, 71-72; 12th century—I, 147, 34; IV, 101, 28; VIII, 97, 38; X, 48, 6; 13th century—XVI, 276, 8; 14th century—XVI, 10, f. n. 1; etc.]. But in the meantime the idea of the particular families was also associated often with the word *Kayastha* as will be shown by the following examples :—

वालभकायस्थवंशजातेन (9th century—E. I., VI, 33, 57; XVIII, 251, 77), गौडकायस्थवंशे (10th century—XII, 61, 21), श्री-गौडान्वयकायस्थ० (12th century—Colebrooke's Essays, Vol. II, p. 233; E. I., XI, 41, 37-38; 14th century—XII, 27, 33), मायुरान्वयकायस्थ० (14th century—XII, 46, 15), मयुरापुरीविनिर्गतकायस्थकठारियान्वयाय० (13th century—XIX, 50, 9-10), श्रीवास्तवकुलोद्भूतकायस्थ० (12th century—IV, 101, 27-28; IV, 104, 26-27), नेगमान्वयकायस्थ० (12th century—*Ind. Ant.*, XL (1911), p. 147; 13th century—*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, History of Gujarat, p. 478, No. XII, l. 9), कायस्थो नेगमान्वये (13th century—*Bom. Gaz.*, Ditto, p. 477, No. X, l. 7), etc.

Sometimes the words like *kula* or *vams'a* were compounded with the word *Kayastha* itself, wherefrom some specific family-name was to be understood :—e. g., मयुरामिजन० कायस्थवंश० (12th century—*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV., p. 201); and कायस्थवंशप्रसवः (13th century—*Bom. Gaz.*, as above, p. 478, No. XI, l. 2), where undoubtedly नेगम is meant. To this category also belong the following cases :—कायस्थकुलमुपपन्नः (11th century—E. I., III, 224, 27), शुद्धकायस्थवंशः (11th century—XIV, 195, 35),

दिविरकुलजेन 12 (12th or 13th century—I, 65, ), कायस्थकुलाव-  
तंस० (Mathurādāsa, the author of the *Vṛsabhānujā*  
Nāṭikā published in the Kāvya-mālā Series), कायस्थवंशमूः  
(Caṇḍa or Cāmuṇḍa, the author of a medicinal work  
*Rasasaṅketakalikā*, who belonged to the नैगम family),  
and श्रीकायस्थविशालवंश० (close of the 14th century—P. Pe-  
tersen's 5th Report of Operations in Search of Sans-  
krit MSS. in the Bombay Circle, 1892-95, p. 71).

In this transitional period the word *jāti* began  
to be combined with the words बालभ्य, नैगम, etc., e. g.,  
बालभ्य(भ्य)जातिकायस्थ (11th century—E. I., XIV, 303, 53),  
भट्टश्रीकायस्थीशकसेनजातीयकायस्थश्रीश्रीचन्द्रपुत्रकर्मठावलेखिश्रीमहोदयरकस्थ  
(12th century—Arch. Sur. Rep., Vol. III, p. 59), नैगम-  
जातीयकायस्थ (Colophon to the *Rasasaṅketakalikā*), etc.  
शकसेन is used as a family name in an inscription of the  
10th century (*Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 89, verse 3). Thus  
what were formerly known as mere 'families', later on,  
came to pass as 'castes'.

The word *jāti* appears in compound with the  
word *Kāyastha* since about the 13th century, e. g.,  
माधुरान्वयकायस्थजातीयठकुर० (E. I., XI, 57, 6) and कायस्थजातीय-  
वालभ्यान्वय (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, His. of Guj., p.  
474, No. VII, l. 5), where *jāti* perhaps means only a  
'class' and not a 'caste' as with Sakasena, Naigama etc.  
The expression कायस्थजातीय० occurring on p. 39 of  
Peterson's 5th Report of S. MSS. and referring itself  
to the last quarter of the 12th century may be classed  
with कायस्थवंश० or कायस्थकुल, as जाति means 'brotherhood'.

Vidyāpati of Mithilā (circa, 1360-1450 A. C.) in  
his *Kīrtīlātā* (composed about 1380 A. C.), Pallava  
II, p. 32 (Nāgarī-pracārīnī Series, No. 36, edited by  
Prof. Baburama Sakasena), writes as follows :—

“बहुल ब्रह्मण बहुल काश्यप (कायस्थ) राजपुत्रकुल बहुल  
बहुल जाति मिलि बहस चप्परि”

Here the author has not used the word *jāti* or  
*kula* with the words *Brahmana* and *Kāyastha* as with  
*Rajputta* and many others. But this fact cannot be  
emphasized for our present discussion, since the poet  
was constrained by the rules of poetry and might not

have intended any reflection on the social condition of his times. Yet one thing is sure that he places these people in an order which is the true index of his contemporary popular view. I mean that Kayasthas were then considered to be below the Brahmanas and above the Rajputs and all other castes.

74. *Brahma-Kayasthas* are even to-day in the majority. Besides the facts shown in the present paper, references to the passage quoted in the *S'abdakalpadrūma* under the name of *Vyomasamhita* (ब्रह्मकायसमुद्भूतः कायस्थो ब्रह्म-संज्ञकः); to the traditional belief of the Upper Indian Kayasthas (of 12 sections) recorded by Rev. M. A. Sherring in his *Hindu Tribes and Castes* as early as 1872 A. C. (see n. 1, iv, above); to p. 310 of the same book (on the Suryadhvaja Kayasthas); to Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 35 (on the family of the Naigamas) and No. 27 (on the donation of the Devagrahara made to a *Divira*); to *Ind. Ant.*, XV, (1886), p. 40, verse 85 (on the donation of 'the half of the Deva-padas' made to a Kayastha Suri, i. e. Pandit, named Lohabhata); to Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, Kutch, p. 241 (on the 'priestly' profession of Kayasthas); to Crooke's *Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, p. 160 (on Kanyuri or Khanduri, a class of Hill Brahmanas who are called Pahari or Hill Kayasthas); to *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 47, verses 15 and 19 and *India Office Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, Part II, p. 535, (on their 'teaching' occupation); to *Archaeological Survey of India* (New Imperial Series), Vol. XVI,— Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency, Vol. VIII,—*Glossary of Terms and Proper Names*, p. 369, l. 35 ("Kayasthas=a sub-castes of the Brahmanas"); to *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part I, Gujarat Population (Hindus), p. 60, ll. 20-22, 28; p. 61, ll. 25-29; p. 64, ll. 37-39; p. 65, ll. 21-24 (and f. n.); p. 66, ll. 17-21; p. 67, ll. 38-41, 49-50 p. 68, ll. 1-2; etc. (on the full Brahmana customs and rites prevalent among the *Brahma-Kayasthas*); to the *Brahmanotpattimartanda* (mentioning *Kaysthayana* under the *Upa-Brahmanas*); to the *Oitravams'a-nirnaya* (by M. Kamta Prasad S'rivastavya of 3/7 — Kali Mahal, Benares), Part I, p. 48; and to the *Kayastha-patrika*, Gaya, December 30, 1927, p. 9, column 1 (on Valmika, Gauda, etc.), would also tell in favour of their Brahmana origin.

For '*Kayastha*' Brahmanas, see *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI (Nasik), p. 41.

75. The Prabhus hold different kinds of traditions and claims of their Ksatriya origin:—see the *Sahyadrikhanda*, Adhya-

yas 27, 28 and 36; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII (Poona), Part I, p. 192, l. 4; Vol. XX. (Sholapur), p. 44, ll. 29-30; etc.

For the Valabha Kayasthas, see the *Udayasundarikatha* by Sodhdhala, p. 10, l. 22; p. 11, ll. 19-28; p. 12, ll. 2, 6-15; p. 152, ll. 3-4.

The number of these Prabhus is very meagre as compared to that of the *Brahma-Kayasthas*.

76. The writer castes known as *Velalis* or *Pilles* and *Mudliars*, and *Telengs* claim to be *Vaisyas*:—see the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII (Poona), Part I, p. 256, ll. 6-7 and p. 257, l. 2; Vol. XX, (Sholapur), p. 45, l. 10 and p. 46, ll. 6-7

Mahakavi Sri'-Haricandra, the author of the *Dharmas'armabhyudaya* (Kavyamala, No. 8), who was a Jain by faith, informs us (p. 163, vv. 1-2) that he belonged to the *Nomaka* (?) family and that his father Ardradeva was known as a *Kayastha*. Here the word *Kayastha* is not used as a caste-name, since no Kayastha caste ever contained any subdivision known as '*Nomaka*'. From the facts that the author was a Jain and that the Siyadoni Inscription (*Ep. Ind.*), Vol. I, p. 173, l. 5; p. 174, l. 11; p. 175, ll. 16, 17, 19, 20; p. 176, l. 23; p. 177, l. 31; p. 178, l. 37) mentions '*Nemaka*' to have been a caste (*Jati*) of merchants, it is probable that the poet Haricandra's father, the Kayastha Ardradeva was a *Vais'ya* by caste. The difference in the spelling of *Nomaka* and *Nemaka* may be due to the wrong deciphering of one and the same word in either of the original records, i. e. the *Dharma-s'armabhyudya* and the Siyadoni Ins., or to the mistake of the engraver of the latter, who had to incise deeds of widely different dates on one and the same stone.

The late Lala Puttu Lal Hakeem, a Jain physician of Farrukhabad (U. P.), was descended from a traditional *Qanungo* family as is clear from his family tree. *Qanungo* families are generally found among Kayasthas. May it be concluded that Jaina *Vais'yas* have assimilated some Kayastha families among themselves?

77. On the list of Brahmanas to be excluded from officiating or feasting at religious ceremonies :—

वर्ज्यान् प्रवक्ष्ये त्वय रोगि-वैरि-हीनाधिकाङ्गान् कितवान् कृतघ्नान् ।  
नक्षत्रशास्त्रेण च जीवमानान् भैषज्यवृत्त्यापि च राजभृत्यान् ॥  
संगीत-कायस्थ-कुषीद-वृत्त्या वेदक्रयेणापि कवित्ववृत्त्या ॥.....

78. Cf. एषां वृत्तीराह वशिष्ठः—सूतानां मन्त्रिकायस्थत्वं-स्त्रीजीवन-  
वस्त्रपूरणानि ॥ मन्त्रित्वं, कायस्थो लेखकस्तत्त्वं च ॥



—(Jagaddhitecchu Press, Poona, Edition, S'aka, 1816), p. 94-95.

79. The earliest reference to Citragupta in the Ancient Sanskrit literature is to be found in the sentence "चित्रगुप्तं तर्पयामि" under the *tarpana* of Yama and his retinue occurring in the *बोधायनधर्मसूत्र* (Bibliotheca Sanskrita, Mysore, No. 34, p. 236, sec. 25; *Smṛtinam Samuccaya*, Anandas'rama Press, Poona, बोधायनव्युत्ति, p. 455, Pras'na II, Adhyaya V, s'loka (? sutra) 140). *आश्वलायनीय-सूत्रपरिशिष्ट*, of an uncertain date, also mentions Brahma and Citragupta as the *Adhidevata* and *Pratyadhidevata*, respectively, of Ketu, the last of the nine planets and describes their individual forms in ii, 4-6 (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1869), pp. 292, 295 and 297. Baudhayana is generally believed by scholars to have written in the 4th century B. C.

Citragupta was always regarded to be the divine minister (कायस्थ) of Yama-Dharmaraja or identical with the latter in Puranic accounts, until about the Mughal times of Indian History when, for the first time, he seems to have been made the *first ancestor* of the North Indian Kayasthas of twelve kinds, *viz.*, Ahisthanas, Ambasthas, Bhatta-nagaras, Gaudas, Karanas, Kulas'resthas, Mathuras, Naigamas, S'akasenas, S'ri-Vastavyas, Suryadhvas and Valmikas. Versions of the story of the origin of Kayasthas from Citragupta, yet traced, are very recent in date.

S'riharsa, a poet of the twelfth century, introduces Citragupta as the *Kayastha of Yama* and does not refer to him as the ancestor of any Kayastha caste or families, in his *Naisadhi-yacarita*—"दृग्गोचरोऽभूदथ चित्रगुप्तः कायस्थ उच्चैर्गुणैः एतदीयः ॥" (XIV. 66). Sri Jalhana Thakkura, a Kayastha, born of the S'rivastavya section (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 104, l. 27), in a Copperplate grant of Samvat 1171 (Monday, January 11, 1115 A. C.) made by Govindacandra of Kanauj to a Bharadvaja Brahmana, Dayi S'arma son of Thakkura Mahakara and grandson of Thakkura Kaku, writes about himself as follows :—"करणिकोद्गतो विद्वान्चित्रगुप्तोपमो गुणैः । यशसे जह्वणः श्रीमानलिखताम्रकं मुदा ॥"—"The illustrious Jalhana, the learned, born of a *Karanika*, and resembling Citragupta in worth, wrote the grant with delight, for his fame" (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 153, l. 21). Evidently, the S'rivastavya Thakkura Jalhana did not consider God Citragupta as his forefather; otherwise it would be more direct, proper and poetic to say "चित्रगुप्तान्वयो विद्वान्" in place of "करणिकोद्गतो विद्वान्" which latter expression points to a profession rather than a caste. Moreover, it involves a certain amount of insolence on the part of a mortal descendant to stand in comparison with his divine ancestor, whom he worships.



Again, the following verses of Ksemendra definitely show that Citragupta and the agents of the Death were merely the standards to compare the *Kayasthas* or officials in certain good or bad respects :—

एतै हि कालपुरुषाः प्रयुदण्डनिपातदतलोकाः ।

गमनायकतपिशाचाश्चरन्ति भूर्जश्वजा लोके ॥

अथेहि त्रिवर्गसाम्निवधियो गुप्तकारिणो दिविराः ।

रेखाभावादिनाशात् 'म'-हितं कुर्वन्ति ये 'र'-हितम् ॥

—Kalavilasa, Canto V, vv. 5 and 11.

योऽयं तौत्थान्तिपटले चित्रगुप्तविचेष्टितः ।

निःशेषजीवनातङ्कविधायी निर्गुणान्तकः ॥

—Narnamala, Parihasa II, v. 21.

Apparently, the myth of Citragupta being the grandsire of the *Kayasthas* was quite unknown in the times of Ksemendra ; otherwise a satirical poet like him would never miss the opportunity of availing himself of it in such a context, in order to express the idea more emphatically by expressly mentioning that the *Kayasthas* 'as descended from citragupta' inherit his nature, instead of identifying them with him (as in Kalavilasa, V. II ).

Again, Soddhala, the author of the *Udayasundarikatha*, who (on p. 8) mentions Parasurama's persecution of *Ksatriyas* in connection with the descent of certain *Kayastha* families from the *Ksatriya* caste, and gives (on pp. 10-11) a legendary account of the incarnation of 'the *Kayastha*' an attendant of *S'iva*, in the person of Kaladitya, the alleged brother of King *S'iladitya* of Valabhi, and the first ancestor, according to the author's version, of the Valabha family of *Kayasthas*,—calling his own great-grandfather, Candapati to have descended from the family of *S'iva* (उमेशवंशावतीर्णम्),—thus exhausting all the legendary and historical accounts of the descent of various *Kayasthas* as were current in his times, makes no mention of Citragupta in their connection. This fact is very significant.

These things show that the stories of Citragupta's lineage were coined long afterwards.

80. The word *Brahma-Kayastha* is used profusely by M. Kamtaprasada of Benares in his writings on *Kayasthas*. It occurs as part of the name of a Hindi manuscript, "ब्रह्मकायस्थकीमुदी", by Paramananda Pradhana, a *S'rivastavya* *Brahma-Kayastha* of Tikamgarh (C. I.), who wrote it in 1906 with other 34 books on

various topics that he produced between 1885 and 1907 (—See the *Report on the Search of Hindi MSS. for 1906-8*, Appendix I, pp. 357-58). Pt. Lakshminarayana Sarasvata wrote his “कायस्थ-संविद्य-द्रुम-कुठार” in 1873 and “कायस्थ-कुल-भास्कर” in 1872 (which were printed in the N. K. Press, Lucknow). In these books he has, in order to refute, quoted, in full, the *Vyavastha* of the Bengal Pandits that was written in 1844 and read out before the Kasiraja Dharmasabha by the Bengali Pandit Taracarana S'arma on Phalguna Sukla 14, V. S. 1930 (1874 A. C.). The *Bengali Vyavastha*, towards its close, has twice used the name *Brahma-Kayastha* for the descendants of Citragupta and has also quoted the verse “ब्रह्मकायसमुद्भूतः”—etc. (substituting the expression कायस्थो वर्णसंज्ञकः for कायस्थो ब्रह्मसंज्ञकः), with the remark “इति व्योमसंहितायां माधवाचार्यधृतवचनम्”। The verse with the remark seems to have been borrowed from the *Sabda-kalpadruma* (which reads ब्रह्मसंज्ञकः), which also is cited, for other things, in the said *Vyavastha*. This shows that the word *Brahma-Kayastha* has been in use for more than a century. It must be older still. I have not been able to trace out the *Vyoma-samhita*. The verse having gained currency under the name of Madhavacharya might lead one to think that the name *Brahma-Kayastha* is as old as the 14th century.

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Here I must not forget to thank Messrs. Jauhari and Sinha, the clerks of the Philosophy and History Departments of our University for typing the major part of this paper to be read at Patna. But my pupil Pt. Devicharana Nigam of the M.A. Final (Sanskrit Literature) Class deserves a special mention for making a more correct and final typed copy of it, even at the cost of his most precious time.

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R. M. Shastri.

### III. THE GADABAS.

By G. RAMADAS, B. A., M. R. A. S., M. A. O. S., (*Kavitasumiti*).

The Gadabas are a set of aboriginal tribes found in the hills of the district of Vizagapatam, and of Bastar and Kalahāṇḍi states. They are not all together but are scattered in small lots over a vast area. In Chipurupalli and Bobbili Taluks of the Vizagapatam district are found small villages of the Gadabas which apparently are colonies established by those that migrated into those places in olden times. The Gadabas, living in such villages in the vicinity of the more civilised people, forgot their native tongue, dress and custom and took up those of the civilised men. It is now very hard to identify the tribe of such men unless they themselves tell us what their tribe is. Consequently it is difficult to acquire a uniform account of these peoples who form a branch of the Mūṇḍā tribes. The account I propose to give here has been collected by me from time to time by going into the midst of those that still continue their aboriginal customs, uncontaminated by the other peoples.

*Origin of the name of the tribe*:—In modern times the Gadabas take to all kinds of occupations. Most of them took to agriculture; some live by hunting and the others are traders. It is not possible to connect their tribal name with any of their present-day professions. But if we study their marriage and funeral rites, the native occupation can be observed and the origin of the name can

be discovered. Any tribe may give up the original dress, the ornaments and the language, but they cannot give up certain formalities in the matrimonial and funeral ceremonies peculiar to the tribe which when closely observed cannot but tell us of their origin and consequently the ancient home of the tribe. The formalities strictly observed to propitiate the manes of a dead man tell us clearly of the ancient habitat of the tribe. The Gadabas soon after they dispose of the corpse go into a brook or stream, bathe therein and catch fish. This is cooked and left in the way to the cremation ground. They believe that, unless this food is offered, the departed soul will not be satisfied. The fish caught in a stream is a necessary dish on marriage occasions. Even in the areas in to which they immigrated, the Gadabas are found to live in the close vicinity of a brook or stream. There seems to be a relation between the name of the tribe and the vernacular equivalent of a brook or a stream. In Telugu it is called 'geḍḍa' or gadda; in Oriya it is 'gāḍ'; Rai Bahadur Hira Lal informed me that a brook or stream in Bundelkhand is called a 'gāḍā'. All these words seemed to be cognate and the name 'gadaba' seems to have been formed of 'gāḍā+ba' or 'gāḍā+va', the final syllable meaning 'pertaining to or belonging to'. This derivation seems to be true as all these Austric tribes of whom the Savaras are the main stock lived, during the time of Das'aratha Rama, in the northern highlands of the Vindhya mountains (*Aboriginal Tribes in the Ramayana, Man*

in India, vol. V, 1925, pp. 28-55). It is but natural that these 'Gadabas' whose original home was in the north of the Vindhya mountains should be called by a name connected with 'gāḍā' by which a brook or a stream is indicated in that part of the country. They might have immigrated into the hills of the Vizagapatam district when all the Mūndā tribes were dislocated when foreign and more powerful peoples flooded the native homes of these tribes.

*Their Classes* :—The Gadabas are divided into four classes.

1. The Gutāg is the highest. The women of this tribe wear big ear-rings of many coils of brass wire and their dress consists of cloth with broad stripes of alternate red and blue.

2. The Pārēng :—The brass coils worn in the ears of the women of this class are smaller. The women of this class wear nose rings also. Their cloths bear thin stripes.

3. The Olar :—The women of this class wear ornaments and dress similar to those of the women of the second class; They also wear a mesh of ropes called 'Kuddal' just over the buttocks and round the loins. When they squat down this 'Kuddal' forms a seat for them.

4. The Kāpu Gadabas are those that are domiciled in the Telugu country.

*Ornaments* :—Males of this tribe like all other men wear no ornaments. It is only the members of the other sex that adorn their bodies with all kinds of ornaments. Early in the morning, every woman attends regularly to her

toilet. They are so very particular about their hair and face that every woman carries always a small looking-glass and a comb strung on a string hanging round her neck. They shampoo their bodies, from head to foot with an unguent made from some seeds of the forest. Round the head, perhaps to keep the combed hair intact, a white metal ring or a garland of beads or cowries is worn. Coils of brass wire are passed through a big hole in the ear-wall. Round the neck garlands of coloured beads are worn so abundantly that they extend from the chin down to the pit of the stomach, and this mass of necklaces is crowned with two or more circular rings of white metal. Thick white metal rings are worn on the lower arm from the wrist to the elbow. This is only on the left arm alone, on the right arm there may be a few or none. When they are asked why they do not wear those bangles on the right lower arm so heavily, they say that, because they do all work with the right hand, the heavy ornaments would be a hindrance. When I saw the picture of a female doll said to have been found in the excavations of Mohenjo-daro, its heavily ringed left arm and the protruding underlip, suggested to my mind the features of a Gadaba woman. On the legs, the first class of Gadabas do not have any kind of ornaments. The whole of the lower leg is filled with tatoo marks: Now-a-days the well-to-do women have learnt to wear a heavy set of anklets.



*Dress*.:—In this also the women show a distinctive feature of their tribe. No special kind of dress seems to have been prescribed for men. But women's dress is peculiar to the tribe. It consists of two cloths each measuring about 5 ft by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ft. One is wound round the loins and it hangs down to the knees. The other worn under the right arm, across the body and the two upper corners are tied in a knot over the left shoulder. These cloths are made with the fibre of a plant which is found in the forest. They are so woven that broad stripes of red, blue and white come alternately.

It is compulsory for every woman of the tribe to make these cloths. Unless she is able to weave these cloths, she is not considered to be fit to be married by any man. When she is taken to her husband's house, she must take with her a pair of cloths made by herself.

*Habitation*.:—All the Gadabas of a place live together, separated from other tribes. They build their houses in two rows facing each other with some broad way left between them. The headman's house is the biggest and it generally stands in the middle of one of the rows. In front of his house, a tree, the *Ficus Indica* or the banyan, or the mango is planted in the centre of the space between the rows of houses. Round the foot of the tree a platform is made with stones. This is seat for the leaders of the village to hold court to decide any disputes of their community. During festive occasions also they all gather here to

drink and dance. The unmarried young men and women are not allowed to sleep at nights with their respective parents. All the maidens are to sleep in one place and all the young men in another place far remote from that of the maidens.

For this purpose two houses are set apart in each village, one for the maidens and the other for the bachelors. Each forms a household in itself managed by an elderly maiden in the case of the maiden's home, and the bachelors' home is managed by the oldest one amongst the bachelors. They do not take food there but at other times of the day they live there. They have their beds there and it is binding on every maiden or young-man to keep their respective homes neat and clean. None of the maidens is permitted in the night to go to the bachelors' home; nor should a bachelor go to the maidens' home.

*Marriage*:—The Gadabas have totems or *gotras*. A man and a woman of the same totem cannot marry; they are regarded as brother and sister. A young man chooses his sweet-heart from a totem other than that of his own and intimates his parents of his selection. This is not a general rule. The parents themselves often select the bride for their son. Girls are married only after puberty;—child marriages are very rare.

When the parents select the bride, they consult their son for his consent. If he approves of their selection, they begin to negotiate with the parents or guardians of the girl. Firstly, they send one of their relatives with some rice and a pot of liquor to the house of the maiden selected.

He goes there and offers them to the parents of the maid and tells him of the purpose of his visit. If they approve of the proposal, they accept the rice and the liquor brought by the mediator and consume them together with the mediator. After some time, the parents of the boy together with the mediator go to the bride's house, taking a larger quantity of rice and liquor. These things are placed in the courtyard of the bride's house and they squat down there. The bride's parents and all their relatives gather there and squat down in an assembly. When all are comfortably seated, the boy's father addressing the father of the maid, says, "I request you to give your daughter in marriage to my son." The father of the maid replies, "We shall see. All my relatives are here; I must consult them before I give my decision. Please, allow us some time."

Then the rice and liquor brought by the boy's parents are utilised in giving a sumptuous dinner to all the persons assembled there. The boy's parents also partake of it and return home.

After some more days have passed, the boy's parents and their relatives, carrying more rice and more liquor, go to the house of the maid. As before, arriving at the house of their destination, they place the articles they had taken with them, in front of the house and squat down there. The bride's parents and relatives all assemble there and the settlement is finally made. The bride's money, that is the money to be paid to the other maids of the village who had till then

associated with the bride, the presents to be given to the nearest relations of the bride, are all settled in this assembly. Then the Disari or the village priest settles the auspicious day for the marriage ceremony. They all then enjoy a sumptuous dinner and after some merry-making and play, the boy's party return to their homes.

On the day just preceeding the one appointed for the marriage, the bridegroom is smeared all over his body with turmeric and then bathed. He wears new clothes and, accompanied by all his kith and kin, proceed to the bride's house while the drums are beaten in front of the party. At the bride's house, a new cloth is given to the bride's mother and two rupees to the bride's father; the maids of the village are given a half rupee. The bridegroom puts on an iron ring on the arm of the bride and drags her away with him towards his home. The bride's relatives offer to prevent him; then a mock affray ensues between the bride's party and the bridegroom's party. After both the parties are quite tired, the bride is led away to the house of the bridegroom, in a big procession with drums beating.

In front of the house of the bridegroom a pandal is erected, in the centre of which are planted three posts—a bamboo, a *sal* and a *salim*—tied together. At the foot of these posts, a small-grind stone is placed. On the marriage day, the bride is made to sit on that stone and on her lap sits the bridegroom. All the matrons of the tribe that come for the marriage throw some turmeric paste

and water on the pair. Then the bride and the bridegroom are led away to take bath and after the bath, each is given new cloths to wear. They are again brought into the pandal and the priest joins their hands, and tie into a knot the corners of their upper cloths. This is the ceremony of joining hands. Then a feast is given to all. Thus the first day's ceremony is finished.

On the second day earth is heaped up outside the pandal. The *disari* or the priest takes three handfuls of earth from that heap and throws it into the middle of the pandal. The bride and the bridegroom mix it with water and make it into a slush. Taking handfuls of this slush, they throw on the men and the women assembled there. Then all join together in a sport of smearing each other with slush. Having enjoyed this fun to their fill, they all retire to a neighbouring brook and wash their bodies and cloths and return home. Then they all enjoy a feast. In the evening they hold a tribal dance while the bride and the bridegroom, sitting in the pandal, watch it. Thus the marriage finishes.

Gadaba widows may re-marry if they like. When they wish to re-marry, it is compulsory for them to marry the younger brothers of their dead husbands. If she does not like to marry him, the man selected by her should pay to the family of her late husband a suitable amount of money in coin or kind as settled by the elders of the tribe.

If a man wishes to leave his wife, he should pay her two rupees and divorce her. But if a

woman wishes to leave her husband and go to another man, the latter should pay to the former as much as may be fixed by the elders of the tribe.

*Festivals*:—This tribe observes communal festivals three times a year. In the vernal season (March and April) the festival called the Chaitra Parvam. In the beginning of the agricultural season (July and August) the Bali-jatra is held for the increase of crops. Pushya Parvam is held in mid-winter. (December and January)

*Chaitra Parvam*:—In the month of Chaitra, all able-bodied men of the tribe go to hunt in the forest. They must return home with some animal bagged. If they come home empty-handed, their women humiliate them by throwing dung-water on them. While the men are absent in the forest, the maidens and the matrons at home adorn themselves with flowers and forest dyes and spend the days and nights in song and dance. This is the time for the maidens to choose their sweethearts or the young men to select their lady loves. The maidens and the youngmen sing duets and if the maidens defeat the youngmen in that musical controversy, the latter depart crest-fallen and all their hopes are abandoned. But if the youngmen succeed, the maidens honour them, give a feast and become their wives. Even married women are not exempt from entering into such musical contests and they have every freedom to live with the man that overwhelmed them with their effusions of emotions which they very finely depict in song. These songs are extempore and are set to fine tunes. They teem with fine rustic poetry.



When the men kill one or more wild animals, the carcasses are brought to the edge of the forest and information is given to the women. In accompaniment with drums and other musical instruments, the women dressed in their finest, proceed to the place where the carcasses have been placed. The dead bodies of the bagged animals are adorned with garlands of flowers and leaves, and are borne on litters carried by men. In front of them dance the women keeping time to the music of the drums. Thus in procession they all return to their village and put down the carcasses in front of the tribal head-man. There the corpses are flayed and if the flesh is edible, it is distributed amongst the families; if not, the skin and the skull are preserved as trophies and the rest of the body is buried.

*The Bali-Jātra*.—This is observed generally in the beginning of the agricultural season. It is a festival of ten days. Outside the village, a shed is raised and in it in nine earthen dishes filled with ant-hill earth are sown the nine kinds of grains. They are watered both morning and evening. Offerings of cooked food, fowls and goats are made to these seedlings. In the nights men and women sing, and dance in front of the shed. The priest, who is called a *bejju* holds an unsheathed sword in his hand and performs a dance, most awful to look at. Men wear disguises and appear in all kinds of fancy dresses. Thus are the nine days spent, and on the tenth day, the dishes in which the seedlings are grown to a

height of 9 to 10 inches, are taken out in procession into the village and are placed in front of the place where the village goddess called the *Nisan devata* has been established. There fowls and goats are sacrificed and the *bejju* performs the devil dance. In that place they make a swing with a seat set with sharp thorns projecting upwards. The *bejju* sits on it and swings for some time. He even offers to seat on the swing anybody that wishes to enjoy the swing and he says that the thorns do not prick. They all believe that it is a miracle of the goddess. Then the dishes containing the seedlings are taken in procession to a neighbouring streamlet and the seedlings are washed clean of the earth and are distributed to all men and women, who wear them in their hair or in the corners of their ears.

*The Pushya festivals:*—This is the last of the festivals the year. It is held on the full-moon day of the month of Pushya after the harvest is gathered and the grains are stored in houses. In this festival, buffaloes, bulls and pigs are killed.

*Death Ceremonies:*—When a person is dead, the corpse is taken to the cremation ground far away from the village. All persons of the tribe follow the corpse. According to means, the corpse is either burned or buried. If a man dies, his wife must follow the corpse to the cremation ground. If a woman dies, her husband does so. After the corpse is disposed of, all of them go to a stream, wash themselves and catch some fish. This and

some rice are cooked in separate pots and they are left in the way leading to the cremation ground. Then the members of the family take their food. On the third day again some cooked rice and fish are offered to the manes of the dead man in the place where the body has been disposed of. Returning home a feast is given to the members of the tribe.

On the tenth day a bigger feast is given for the peace of the departed soul. The friends and the relatives of the dead person are invited to this feast; and a buffalo or an old cow is slaughtered. Liquor especially prepared of fermented *ragi* flour is abundantly served. This liquor intoxicates more than any other liquor and makes the drinker very violent. This feast finishes the funeral for that year. But every Gadaba has to perform a great ceremony within three or four years after the death of his father. This ceremony is called the *Göttar*. The son or the brother of the dead man, after the corpse has been disposed of, picks up a stone from the place where the dead body has been disposed of and preserves it carefully for the *Göttar* ceremony.

*The Göttar*: From the first year, he begins to preserve a part of his produce for three years. At the end of the third year, when he has accumulated sufficient for the ceremony, he sends out invitations to his kith and kin living even in far-off places, to attend the *Gottar* to be performed on an appointed day. The brothers of the dead man come bringing with them an old cow or a buffalo. Other relatives, both men and women,

in fact, whole families arrive at the place a day or two before the appointed day. A sumptuous feast with plenty of intoxicating drinks are given to all that come for the occasion and also to all the inhabitants of the village. On the appointed day, a post of *Salimi* wood is planted in the middle of an open place adjoining the village. The host first ties to it an old cow or a buffalo in the name of the departed soul. The others then tie the animal they have brought with them. Each of these animals is fed with one or two rupees mixed with bran. Then all of them are given away to the sisters' husbands and they are asked to take them. Both men and women of the whole gathering drink this fill and hold sharpened axes in their hands. As soon as the animals are untethered, each of them is pursued by these drunken persons. The object is to pull out through the anus the coins with which the animal has been fed. The pursuers wound the animal with the axes, pull out its flesh, thrust their arms through the anus and pull out the entrails. Every one secures in his lap whatever flesh he could get. The animals bellow is their agony and the men and women howl in excitement. In this even men receive wounds and sometimes death occurs. He that could extract the coins from the bowels of an animal is considered to be fortunate and it is believed that his crops would flourish that year. After all the animals are killed, they are quartered and distributed to all who attended the ceremony. The ceremony is intended, I believe, to bring together all the members descended from one ancestor, so that they might not, though living in distant places, forget their relationship.

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## IV. HISTORY OF EVOLUTION. \*

BY PRAMATHA NATH MUKHOPADHYAYA.

### *The New Approach.*

The Evolution Theory so successfully inaugurated by Charles Darwin in the field of Biology and so triumphantly carried to other fields by Herbert Spencer and a host of other pioneers in the nineteenth century, has undoubtedly been one of the most notable contributions to the stock of human knowledge, and one of the most powerful instruments in the shaping of human conceptions regarding the order of natural phenomena, including phenomena that bear a subjective character. It has been claimed that Evolution is the master key; that it is the formula which solves the problems of origin and development practically in all spheres of human enquiry. The greatest and the smallest things—the stars and the atoms—have evolution. The species of plants and animals, the types of government, economic and social arrangement, arts and morals, and even religious consciousness have evolution. The theory of Evolution has thus spread its empire far and wide and held its sway unchallenged. But it must be clearly recognised to-day that, with the passing away of the absolutist outlook in Science, a profound change has come over the spirit of the interpretation of the constitution of the universe as framed by the pioneers in the field of Evolu-

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\* *Itihasa and Abhivyakti (Philosophy of History, with special reference to the Culture-Life in Ancient India)*,—By Pramatha Nath Mukhopadhyaya (Calcutta, 1929), Price—Rs. 3/- net.

tionist Philosophy. Whilst it may be still conceded that the Evolution Theory is generally accepted as true as regards the broad outlines, it can hardly with justice be claimed that our understanding has definitely advanced as regards the fundamental problems involved in the origin of things—the elements which conserve, the factors that vary, and the laws according to which preservation and variation determine themselves. The foundations are still as dark as they were before, and have in fact become darker. We have perhaps more knowledge to-day, but certainly not greater wisdom, unless it be wisdom to know that we do not know. It is of course true that we know more about the details, microscopically as well as macroscopically. But it is not true that we know to-day more about the causal apparatus or the purposes, if any, involved in evolution.

Certain questions which were generally believed to be closed during the century, have now been reopened. This is because Science herself has now ceased to be so cocksure about her first principles as she used to be formerly. In the first place, older Science, if not frankly materialistic, was at least overshadowed by a materialistic philosophy. It was a fundamental postulate with the man of science that if the course of events could be explained in terms of matter and motion and the laws relating thereto, that explanation should be regarded as both adequate and sufficient. The supernatural either does not exist, or, if it does, it should not be dragged in for the purpose of



explaining natural phenomena. This principle is still acted upon, but with very vital reservations. It is recognised that natural explanation is not necessarily what explains in terms of matter and motion only; that any scientific explanation is possible only after what is called "limitation of the the data", so that the live whole concrete real even in the so-called domain of matter both eludes and exceeds as such the foot-rule of scientific measurement; that the principle of Universal Causation and Uniformity of Nature upon which Science erected her edifice of natural determinism is not hard rock but sandstone with cracks and fissures in it; that perhaps in a just and complete appreciation of things, the supernatural shall refuse to be exhibited as a sort of far-off nebula securely bolted out of our own galactical system, a rare and uncanny contingency not caring or daring to break in upon the fixed routine of natural phenomena, but as a perennial miracle seated at the centre of all things, and making itself known through every hole and crevice in the so-called solid ensemble of natural events. It is Matter itself which has become or is becoming in modern scientific outlook *Maya*; and miracle, chased from the field of science so doggedly by the older generation of physicists, seems to have now entrenched itself behind such fundamental scientific entities as the quantum phenomena. As I have said elsewhere (in my Introduction To Vedanta Philosophy, S. B. Fellowship Lectures, Calcutta University),—"It has been said that science is always exploding one thing or other, but

whatever other things it may or may not have exploded, it certainly has not exploded, and is not likely to explode, the pristine glory and mystery of existence." And also, "Science to-day absolutely refuses to erect a dead buffer against the ancient human quest after the miraculous and the mysterious." It is however an aspect of the question upon which I need not here further dwell. It is enough to note that it is rather late in the day now to swear by the absolutism of the Science of the last century. The universe certainly does not appear to the man of science to-day as a closed curve of materialistic determinism. The far-away spiral nebulae in the photographic regions of space, as well as the calculated motions of the electrons in their orbits, present problems which leave a residue of something unexplained, and perhaps inexplicable, in the most powerful solvent of scientific theory in which the problems have so far been sought to be dissolved. And yet these are orthodox physical problems. In the fields of biology and psychology, the situation does not promise to be a simpler one. No dogmatism in science is therefore justified binding us absolutely either to a materialistic cosmogony or to a deterministic cosmology.

In the second place, the reasons for maintaining a state of war between Science and Religion do not seem to be so formidable to-day as they seemed in the preceding century. Many scientific men used to feel that they could not honestly keep their articles of religious faith intact or even alive in the teeth of their scientific convictions,

and they became frankly sceptical. Others somehow managed to hold on to their religious beliefs in spite of their scientific convictions. The domain of Science and the domain of Religion used to be constantly in a state of war with each other, and peace-makers in either land were hard put to it to explore avenues, possible and impossible, of settlement. It can hardly be pretended that to-day that state of war has ceased to exist, but it seems that the prospects of settlement are brighter to-day than they were in the preceding stages of the conflict. Some scientific men are already beginning to claim that it is becoming increasingly possible for one to be religious *because of* one's scientific principles rather than *in spite of* them as seemed to be the case formerly. Science to-day refuses to ban the possibility of a Conscious Power seated at the centre of the scheme of beings, of Freedom being operative in the flux of natural events, of Spirit supervising and interfering in the so-called iron rule of physical determinism. The chasm between Spirit and Matter is narrowing rather than widening, and as it has been well said by Bertrand Russel, matter is becoming less material and mind is becoming less mental day by day. The case for dualism is becoming weaker, and that for monism—unity of being and dynamism—is becoming stronger.

In the third place, apart from these questions of principle and procedure, the emergence of striking new facts in the domains of matter, life and mind has made it possible for us to re-examine

many of our so-called settled positions in Science, and *pari passu* with the result of such re-examination, to revise our estimate of what we had turned down as ignorance and superstition in the ensemble of human traditions. A better understanding and appreciation of ancient religion, magic and mythology has, for example, been possible. A wholesomely broad and sympathetic outlook is steadily emerging out of the vanishing fog of scientific bigotry and narrowness. It is no longer a postulate in scientific appreciation that the advancement of knowledge in the various spheres of human enquiry has been purely and simply a straight march without the likelihood of the wayfarer having ever to follow a false track, and therefore subsequently to retrace his steps. It is an admissible question whether as regards some essential results the wayfarer is not veering round to old positions supposed to be long left behind, is not, after all, describing great circles, any particular section of which might have seemed to him a straight line. Magic is to-day regarded as a sort of primitive science, but the "magic" of New Physics and New Psychology, diving more and more deeply into the mystery of matter and what are now called parapsychic phenomena, may even now be expected to make that most primitive science of the human race also the wisest. At any rate, the oldest traditions of man have now positively refused to be judged on a presumption of the falsity and worthlessness of earliest ideas and institutions.

In the fourth place, it is to be noted that the modesty of present-day Science ought, if it has not already tended, to make her more readily appreciative of truth and worth being found in provinces of human experience and belief, whether ancient or modern, other than those which she has been able to survey so far. For instance, it would be an unwarrantable position in scientific methodology to assume that only facts, with an objective sense appeal ought to pass muster, and that others which for the time being or permanently lack such appeal—which do not for the moment promise to abide by the physical laboratory tests—should be rigidly excluded from the hall of official presentation, or asked to wait in the antechambers. It has been well said that what Science has to deal with to-day is not fact as it actually and concretely is, but an event in a more or less conventional frame of reference. The question, for example, whether the mind as such exercises any dynamism on matter, whether it exists and functions apart from matter, whether it exists and functions independently also of the ordinary material conditions of its existence and operation—is a vitally engaging problem, and in regard to this, present-day Science must refrain from demanding that its solution, if any, shall have to be found in the test-tube or by the electrometer. Matter itself is being fast dematerialised, and objective sense-appeal is fast losing its claim as the Delphic oracle. The Ether of the older generation of physicists had already

lifted us to the cloudland of the sub-material or *quasi*-material; but the four-dimensional continuum of points of the modern Relativist has tended to make matter itself the chief illusion in our world of experience. Now, whether it be an illusion or a reality, the study of matter must no longer be allowed to dominate the study of the more intimate realities of life and mind.

In the fifth place, with the passing away of the tyranny of materialistic science which so long held the Spirit as a suspect, if not as a convict prisoner, there is to-day a better prospect for all the vital claims of the Spirit, both individual and collective, being generally recognised than what was yesterday. All the higher aspirations of human civilisation, the deeper values of ethics and religion, will undoubtedly have a better chance of prospering under a system of ideas recognising the supremacy of the Spirit, its essentially true, good and beautiful nature, its freedom and survival after death, than in a regime of ideas which make or tend to make all such values of questionable validity. A mechanistic civilisation such as we have been familiar with during the last two centuries may not still be regarded as the best possible of all civilisations in the best possible of all worlds of ours. Another type of civilisation, laid on more natural and simpler lines, laying greater stress on the directly spiritual values of man than on the material and sensuous values, directed more to the securing of peace and happiness than to the production of comfort and



sense-gratification, encouraging and relying more upon the altruistic, benevolent springs of action than upon self-love and malevolence, conceived more in terms of human duties than in terms of human rights, may, after all, commend itself with an increasingly insistent appeal to the already troubled and tired spirit of the human race.

Both the scientific theory of Evolution and what has so far been euphemistically called the history of human civilisation require a reinterpretation in the light of the foregoing preamble. It has often been hastily assumed that the theory of Evolution is a logical deduction from a body of unquestionable facts, whilst the fact of the matter is that it is even now a mixture of facts and assumptions, neither of them being beyond cavil and question. While the general picture of living matter propagating itself and also varying itself, and of the emergence of new forms from time to time, stands clear, the picture is still set in a background which is hazier perhaps to-day than it looked when the pioneer painters were laying their brushes on the virgin canvas. We are not all agreed on the *modus operandi* of evolution, and we know very little indeed of the causal apparatus of the process. The first appearance of life, its first vehicle and nature, the first variations leading to the emergence of the primitive forms, the factors determining these and subsequently variations—questions like these have hardly yet emerged from the serbonian bog of controversy. Darwin had complained of the im-

perfections of the geological and palæontological record in seeking proofs of his theory; but the descent of man himself from the anthropoid ape had already been shewn to be a likely hypothesis by Darwin, followed by Huxley and Haeckel amongst other biologists. As regards the origin of man, though a primitive ancestor common to the anthropoid apes and man is generally accepted, the problem has now proved harder to solve than it was supposed to be by the pioneers in the field. The earlier tendency was to regard the Java man, the Piltdown man, etc. as being in the direct ancestral line of man as we find him to-day, but the later tendency has been to regard these and some other primitive finds (including the Pekin man) as being only collateral offshoots not being in the direct line of man. Anthropologists have long recognised types and races of man, and have sought a common root from which all these might be supposed to have descended. But the common root has not been so far found beyond guess-work and controversy. The avenues of comparative anatomy still lead us to what Sir Arthur Keith has called "the ancient complex of humanity". We have already begun to despair of finding a picture of snug simplicity in the beginning. The ape can hardly to-day aspire to sit as a model for the drawing of our first ancestor. With the discovery of the mystery of the thyroid and other glands in the body, the processes in the workshop of Nature turning out new types and races may be supposed to have taken a new orientation of meaning. It is true that the earli-

est finds are nearer the ape than man of whom the later Cro-magnon specimen in Europe may be taken as a fairly early and yet developed type, but no compelling logical necessity has appeared for accepting the Java man, for example as the starting point of a process of evolution of which the Cro-magnon man with his fairly modern physique and artistic culture is a natural and direct culmination. There have been speculations by competent investigators supported by some solid evidence that the Cromagnon race might have been an emigrant from a hitherto unknown continent (the submerged Atlantis?) and where their remains were disinterred to where they subsequently lived. The pleistocene formation have not indeed yet revealed any specimen resembling or suggesting the modern civilised man, but the subterranean museum is so vast, changes in the configuration of land and water have been so great and frequent, and the imperfections of the palæontological and other records are still so manifest, that it would be nothing less than scientific audacity to maintain that human history could have started from a point of bodily and cultural primitiveness so low as that represented by the Pithecanthropus of Java, for example.

So also on the culture side, Anthropology following the lead of the late Lord Avebury and others has divided the prehistoric ages of man into certain ages and sub-ages, Archaeology exploring the earth far and near has collected a vast deal of evidence bearing upon the general scheme of the commonly accepted classification. It has

been supposed that the history of human culture and civilisation has run generally in accordance with this scheme. And it is also commonly recognised that the recorded history of man (counted in thousands of years) is but a speck in the immensity of his unrecorded history (which is now counted in millions of years). Now, during all these millions of years, man found himself wallowing in the mire of savagery, learning by luck how to make fire or fashion the crudest stone implements or take the rudimentary step to the cultivation of the art of agriculture and domestication of animals. From the earliest times again there seem to have prevailed what in contradistinction from religion we are wont to call magical beliefs and observances. Formerly the common tendency was to look upon such beliefs and practices as dark and senseless in the main, but a more sympathetic and appreciative outlook has been for some time past in the process of opening up. Magic is often regarded to-day as a sort of primitive science, but the fundamental conceptions of magic—the existence of a cosmic fund of power seated at the centre of all things which can be made available for the purposes of any given centre provided means can be devised by which it can effectually link itself up with the Reservoir of Power—need not to-day be summarily dismissed as crude and altogether unworthy of a careful examination. The Psychic Research Societies and Spiritualistic Societies of to-day have not only reopened, but, in many cases, have already thrown a flood of suggestive light on questions

which the preceding generations of cultivated minds had regarded as closed for ever. And supposing those questions are now answered in a different way, the magic and the so-called witchcraft of the savage peoples, ancient or modern, will demand and will have to be conceded an altogether new valuation. As regards the question whether the highly complicated modern civilised institutions are, with reference to the truer and saner ethical values and principles conducive to the true happiness of man, better or worse than the so-called primitive institutions, it should no longer be pretended that the question represents a challenge to a position which is sacrosanct and cannot be challenged. The query which Whitman raised—"The savage...what is he? Is he past civilisation or is he waiting for it?"—cannot be summarily ruled out of court. In some cases it has to be conceded that the savage represents a falling back from a higher phase of civilisation. The question naturally arises as to the nature and value of the hypothetical civilisation. Is it higher or lower than the prevailing forms? This question of valuation does not admit of an offhand answer, and one must carefully consider the standard and criteria of value. For example, whilst it may be conceded that the present phase of human civilisation may be regarded in some respects as an advance upon the civilisation of the Upanishad Period in India, the question may be pertinently asked if the latter civilisation cannot in some other, and perhaps more essential, respects

be regarded as of greater value than the current Western brand. The bare fact that it is the latest and one that has apparently prevailed, ought to be no proof that it is also the best and fittest. Natural Selection does not appear to have always proceeded in accordance with moral and spiritual values, and what Nature selects for an ephemeral show, she may not select for an enduring and truly vital part, and, therefore, the fact that Western civilisation has been going strong for a couple of centuries, need not preclude the possibility of its standing unsuspectingly on the crater of a live and destructive volcano. Every race has believed itself to be the chosen race of God, and every civilisation thinks it is the latest improvement. But truth and justice ought to be no respecter of such special claims.

Lastly, it is to be observed that by the general consensus of ancient traditions, the materialistic and merely economic interpretation of history has been deemed superficial and insufficient. An Intelligence and spiritual Powers higher than man have been believed to be responsible for the main and momentous epochs of human civilisation, and particularly, for the starting of the creative ideas and ideals in history. It has also been believed that the march of human history has not been altogether a blind groping in the dark, a laborious process of endless uncertain steps fortuitously taken with a few lucky trials at long intervals; that history has not in the main been an evolution in the simple sense in which Herbert Spencer, for



instance, used the word, but that it has presented the picture of a complicated affair with advances and retreats, ups and downs, cycles and sub-cycles, appearing on the whole perhaps as a spiral line ; that any civilisation, ancient or modern, should not be judged in terms of its external paraphernalia, however developed these may seem to be, but in terms of the conditions it creates for the realisation of the latent divinity in man, however "primitive" the external paraphernalia vehicling those conditions may appear to be. The question of vital interest is: Is this a substantially correct position to take ? A sympathetic and understanding examination of ancient tradition, particularly Indian tradition, together with a vital appropvement of the relevant results of modern science and modern research as regards what these actually shew and what they do *not* shew, what they find and what they forbid, what they answer and what they still leave open, must be undertaken. A beginning of such an attempt has been made in my book "*Itihasa and Abhivyakti.*"

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## INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for July-December, 1930, Prof. A. H. Sayce (Huxley Memorial Lecture 1930), refers to the *Antiquity of Civilized Man in India* as follows. "In India, both at Mahenjodaro in Sind and Harappa in the Punjab, a pre-historic civilization has been brought to light which was in close contact with that of Elam and Sumerian Babylonia. The painted pottery, the inlaid work in mother-of-pearl and ivory, even the drains in the streets, all have their connections in Babylonia, and hundreds of seals and sealings have been disinterred, which prove that there was an active trade between North-Western India and Western Asia. The sealings have inscriptions in a pictographic script, often accompanied by representations of an Indian buffalo or the like and of an altar of various forms. In shape and size and general character the sealings resemble those found at Susa, which also bear pictographic inscription as well as figures of animals. Some of the Indian sealings have actually been found in Babylonia, at Jokha, the ancient Umma, as well as in the early strata of Kisch. It is evident that a large and regular trade must have existed between the two countries; a good deal of it was doubtless carried on by sea, but there must have been a land-route as well. Indeed, more than 80 years ago some antiquities were discovered near Herat

which included a Babylon seal-cylinder belonging to the age of the Third Dynasty of Our about 2300 B. C., which shows that the land-trade still existed at that period. (*vide* JASB, XI, pp. 316 sqq).

In *Man* for April, 1931, Prof. J. L. Myers contributes a *Memorandum on the National Provision for the Study of Indian and other Oriental Cultures with the Resolutions of the Joint Committee for Anthropological Research and Teaching.*

In the same number of *Man*, Mr. L. A. Cammiade describes the peculiar apparatus and method of Iron Smelting by Kois, a Jungle Tribe in the Eastern Ghats of India.

In *Man* for June, 1931, Major N. V. L. Rybot, contributes a note (with Silhouette and Sketch map) on *Groups of Menhirs in Kashmir.*

In the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XII, Pt. III (April, 1931) Mr. D. R. Mankad contributes a paper on *The Arctic Regions in the Rigveda*, in which, though in the main agreeing with Dr. Das that Sapta Sindhu was the original home of the Aryans, criticises Dr. Das' attitude in overlooking references in the Rigveda showing knowledge of the Arctic regions, and seeks to reconcile the theories of both Dr. Das and the late Mr. Tilak.

The *Visva-Bharati Quaterly*, Vol. 8, 1930-31, Pt. III. (June, 1931) contains a paper on *Some Problems in the Origin of Art and Culture in India* by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji. In this paper Dr. Chatterji analyses the diverse

elements of different ages that were gradually blended together to constitute the National Art of India. He summarises his paper as follows:—"If we were to trace the various strata of Indian Art, we could pose the following:—

"(1) The Pre-Aryan Art of India, connected with Pre-Aryan religion; earliest relics found at Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa: suppressed or submerged during the centuries of Aryan supremacy in religion and culture, or perhaps existing in a flourishing state with the old religion side by side with Aryan religion and culture, and coming to its own probably in the middle (or first half) of the first millennium B. C. with the re-establishment of non-Aryan cults and ritual and religious and philosophical notions in later Hinduism (Yaksha cults, Tree-deities, *Chaityas*, *Śiva* and other Hindu Gods, Yoga practices, *pūjā* ritual: seals with animal figures, terra-cotta figures, copper figures, stucco portrait statues. This Art at its base seems to be connected with Sumerian Art.

"We do not know what art the Austrie people possessed: but it is quite likely that some elements of architecture and decorative art in India, South-Eastern Asia and Indonesia originated with the Austries.

"(2) Some rudimentary art, mostly borrowed from Assyria and Babylonia, as brought in by the Aryans: probably images in wood and clay and metal, and a little wood-carving, with some Assyrian motifs. (This is rather problematical.)

"(3) The Art of Aryan Persia—itsself an eclectic

formation, with elements from Assyrio-Babylonian Art, and Egyptian, Asia Minor and Ionian Greek Art. This exerted a profound influence on a blend of (1) and (2) which was probably taking place during the middle of the first millennium B. C. and the result was—

“(4) The first crystallised expression of an Ancient Indian National Art, in which the mixed Aryan and Non-Aryan people shared, in Maurya and Suṅga times. Beginnings of Indian iconography.

“(5) Advent of Greek influence: (i) Gandhara—remaining outside the Indian pale, a thing apart—unassimilated with the Indian tradition; (ii) absorbed Greek influence, leading to the strengthening of (4), which became more refined and more urban in

“(6) Mathura (Kushāṇa) and Amaravati (Andhra) Art of the early centuries of the Christian era.

“(7) Development of (6) through free working of the native Indian spirit, and permeation of Indian philosophical and religious conceptions, into Classical Gupta Art, on which the subsequent art history of Hindu India was broad-based.

“(8) Development of Gupta Art into mid-mediæval and late mediæval local schools; Pallava (with elements from the earlier Andhra Art of the South), Rāshṭrakūṭa, Pala, Orissan, Western and Central Indian, etc., etc.

“(9): (7) and varieties of (8) pass into Indo-China and Java, where modified by the local native character and contribution, this is transform-

ed to Hindu Colonial Art of South-Eastern Asia: to wit;—

- (i) Mon and Burmese; (ii) Khmer; (iii) Siamese, based on Khmer, but with modifications and refinement by contact with the Siamese race;
- (iv) Cham, with important midification;
- (v) Javanese: (a) Early or Hindu-Javanese, (b) Middle Javanese, with an increase of the Indonesian character, and (c) Late Javanese, with still greater Indonesian Influence; (v) Balinese Early, Middle and Late, agreeing with Javanese.

(10) The Buddhist Art of Serindia, China, Korea and Japan in which (5 [i]) and (6) meet with fresh influences from Persia (Sasanian Art), and later in is further modified by (7) and varieties of (8). There is also profound modification by the native art and spirit of China."

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The *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* for the year 1930 contains the following article: *A few Beliefs of the West: Their Parallels in the East and Symbols*:—*The Swastika*, by Dr. J. J. Modi; *Some trees and Herbs in Retuals and Folk-lore*, by Mr. S. N. Roy; *The Bunking Castes and Guilts of India*, by Mr. R. P. Masani; *Tribes and Castes of Mysore*, by Mr. R. E. Enthoven; *Notes of Some Mundari Legend and Customs* by Mr. S. C. Mitra; and *The Study of Anthropology in the West* by Dr. Jal Feerose Bulsora.

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In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* for July 1931, Mr. K. G. Shesha Aiyar, contributes a paper on *Glimpses in to the Life of the Ancient Tamil People*; and Prof. S. C. Mitra containing his *Studies in Bird-Myths*.

In the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, for January, 1931, Mr. R. Subha Rao, gives a short account of the *Yanadis*.

In the *Karnatak Historical Review* for March, 1931, Mr. V. B. Alur contributes an interesting Note on *Hero-stones and their Contribution to History and Literature*. A systematic accounts of these Hero-Stones will form a valuable contribution to the history of Indian culture, and students will be exceedingly grateful to Mr. Alur if he follows up this introductory note with a systematic account (illustrated, if possible) of the different classes of "Hero-stones" in his Province, and, if possible, in different parts of India.

The *Indian Historical Quarterly* for march, 1931, contains the following articles of ethnological and sociological interest. *On Foreign Element in the Tantra* by Dr. P. C. Bagchi; *Cultivation in Ancient India*, by Mr. R. Ganguli; *Early Visnuism and Nārāyaṇīya Worship*, by Miss Mrinal Das Gupta; and *Note on Dravidian* by Mr. L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar.

In the same *Journal* for June 1931, Miss Mrinal Das Gupta continues her paper on *Early Visnuism and Nārāyaṇīya Worship*.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**Egyptian Civilization: Its Sumerian Origin & Real Chronology, & Sumerian Origin of Egyptian Hieroglyphs.**—By *L. A. Waddell, LL.D., C.B., C. I. E.* (London: Luzac & Co. 1930), PP. XX+223. Price 12 s. 6 d. net.

This volume, like the author's former work *Makers of Civilization*, is of special interest to Indian students. In both the works he seeks to establish his theory of an early dominant Aryan race which he identifies with the ancient Sumerians and to which he attributes the origination and propagation of civilization. Dr. Waddell is convinced of the historical authenticity of much in the Vedas and ancient Indian Epics that was hitherto considered fabulous. He finds from the Kings' Lists of the Early Aryans as given in the Indian Purāṇas and the names of the Sumerian Mesopotamian Kings on their inscribed monuments and in the official Mesopotamian Kings' lists, that the two records, Early Aryan and Sumerian, are in entire agreement from the First Dynasty, down through the long period of over two thousand years to the opening of the classic Greek epoch in Europe; and that the identity was complete not only in the names of titles, order of succession and exploits of the kings but extended to such minute details as the names of their consorts and sons, and to the cultures, language, writing, religion, symbolism,

arts and industries of the peoples over whom they ruled.

As for the origin of Egyptian hieroglyphs, Dr. Waddell holds that they are derived from the Early Sumerian pictographic writing which he regards as the source of all the chief forms of alphabetic writing, ancient and modern. The author claims that the solid and unassailable facts of history conclusively prove:—

- (1) That Civilization did *not* first arise in Egypt, but arose amongst the Sumerians, who were *not* of the "Mediterranean" or "Iberian", dark, narrow-browed long-heads, but of the fair long-headed, broad-browed and blue or grey-eyed Aryan race; and of the same type as the classic Greeks, whose heroes and heroines are described as tall, fair and golden haired and blue or "glaucous" grey-eyed, and who are represented in their sculptures as broad-browed.
- (2) That Civilization was introduced into Egypt in a fully fledged form by the Sumerians or Early Aryans about six hundred years after its origin by Sumerian emperors from Mesopotamia, the so-called "Predynastic Kings" of Egypt about 2780 B. C., or possibly a little earlier.
- (3) That Egypt for some centuries subsequent to Menes' establishment of the united kingdom of Egypt about 2704 B. C. was a chief centre for the diffusion of Civilization in the Mediterranean and beyond the Pillars of Hercules to the Tin-land of Britain
- (4) That Civilization in the closed rich land of the Nile Valley acquired a distinctive stereotyped local complexion in many of its customs, beliefs, arts and crafts and in the form of writing the Sumerian script, which was the source of the Egyptian hieroglyphs.
- (5) That Egypt took little part in the diffusion of civilization to the East.
- (6) That, in particular Egypt appears to have taken no part in the diffusion of Civilization to India, Indo-China and Oceania of "The Children of the Sun", and America".

Many Scholars may not agree with Dr. Waddell in his conclusions, but every reader of the book will find in it much matter of absorbing interest and much to ponder over. The value of the book is enhanced by twenty-one plates, ninety-six text illustrations, two maps, five appendices and an exhaustive index.

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**Treatise on the Gods.**—By *H. L. Mencken*, (London & New York, *Alfred A. Knopf*, 1930), pp. IX+364+XII. Price 10 s. 6 d. net.

This book, strictly speaking, is not a scientific treatise on Comparative Religion. The author, as he says in his preface, has deliberately avoided such vexed questions as totemism, animism and magic and their chronological sequence in the development of religion. In dealing with the religion of the primitive man and its subsequent evolution through the course of centuries, we must take the help of psychology, ethnology, and anthropology. The author without raising any acrimonious questions has attempted to give in these few pages an idea of the fundamental concepts of religion and he has, on the whole, succeeded in his attempt.

Though obviously written for the layman, the book contains much sound criticism and original thinking which will interest even a specialist. The author belongs to the ultra-rationalistic school of thought and he does not avoid some caustic comments on priests and sacerdotalism,

Anyone reading the book gets the impression that the author is obsessed with the idea that the villainy of self-seeking priests is alone responsible for the growth of religious ideas in their complex forms. Of course, priesthood has done much to retard human progress but a scientific treatise is expected to avoid bitter comments as far as possible. Dealing with Christianity he has not said anything on the effect of Neo-Platonism and the influence of Plotinus and Porphyry on Christianity. The empirical science of the Renaissance and the two following centuries was itself a new development of Platonism and Neo-Platonism as opposed to rationalistic dogmatism with its contempt for experience. Magic, astrology, alchemy, all the outgrowth of Neo-platonism, gave the first effectual stimulus to the observation of natural science and in this way finally extinguished barren rationalism.

The author seems to be dogmatic in his assertion when he says that the Greeks were the first to make any concerted action to liberate the human mind. Buddhism was also an audacious defiance of the Vedas. Philosophy has always been a late-comer in the history of human development. It follows upon the anthropomorphic and mythological explanation of things. It betokens an introspective and detached mind and knowledge of inner life of which Indian and Iranian religions afforded the earliest examples. The author is mistaken in thinking that in ancient India there was no belief in immortal life. Even if the Buddhist doctrine of 'Nirvana' be interpreted

as annihilation, the Upanishadas, which are more ancient, has much to say of immortality. Another minor fault of the author is his tendency to speak of most things in the superlative.

B. M.

**Culture and Progress.**—By *Wilson D. Wallis, Ph. D.*, (*Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company. New York 1930*), PP. VII+495. Price \$ 5 net.

The book is a comprehensive survey of the theories of progress from the earliest times to the present day. Dr. Wallis has brought to his task wide reading, a scientific mind and above all a remarkable power of critical analysis. Stating the different Utopias he has criticized them wherever necessary and has advanced his own theories of progress and culture in the final section where he discusses the criteria of progress. Progress and culture have no fixed criteria. They change according to age and geographical environments. The author is never dogmatic and he has left the question about the standard of culture and progress open.

The learned author has obviously no first-hand acquaintance with Indian views on the subject as found in original Sanskrit or Pali. He is wrong in thinking that nowhere in Hindu thought is there much incentive to progress. Progress in India was never measured by conquests overseas



or by the efficiency of man-killing weapons. Before the birth of Christ, Asoka preached that true conquest is duty. Indian culture has not produced Cæsars and pseudo-Cæsars as European culture did. There is something in Hindu culture which has enabled it to withstand strong cultural influences from outside which are antagonistic to or inconsistent with its own cultural ideals. There is now no Soul of Hellas at Athens. The spirit which created Memphis is not to be found in Cairo. The soul of India, her civilization and culture, turn more towards that which is inward in the soul than that which is outside in the realm of matter. The Western scholar trained in logical methods of thought seldom looks below the surface. This ideal of culture and progress has made India what it is—the most religious and peace-loving country in the world. Therein lie the strength of Indian culture and also, perhaps, its weakness.

On the whole, the book is replete with very valuable material and covers an extensive ground. The value of the book is enhanced by an exhaustive and valuable bibliography. We cannot praise the author too much for his remarkable contribution to a subject which concerns humanity and all human endeavours.

*B. M.*

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**Source Book in Anthropology.**— *By A. L. Kroeber and T. T. Waterman. (Revised Edition, 1931. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York), PP. IX+571. Price.*

This is a revised edition of the select Readings which first appeared under its present title in 1920, and was reprinted in 1920. The present edition in which many old articles have been either omitted or altered or replaced by new ones and only twenty have been retained unchanged, is a marked improvement on its predecessors. In this improved form the book is expected to reach a wider circle of readers and institutions interested in anthropology, sociology and related branches. The selections offered in the book deal with the History of Anthropology, Environment, Archaeology, the theories of Invention, Independent Origin and Diffusion, Political Institutions, Individual and Racial Psychology and Method. Though not systematically covering all the principal facts and theories of anthropology, every major topic in anthropological science is represented in this volume. It contains a few articles not easily accessible to the average student. The book will be welcomed by the student of anthropology and sociology as a useful addition to his library.

The beginner in the study of Anthropology should be grievously mistaken if he regards it as furnishing him, in a handy form, a compendium of all that he requires to know of his science. As the authors declare in the Preface, the passages in the volume have been selected for their

utility in stimulating thought and discussion and are "included not because they present ultimate scientific truth, but because they embody facts and interpretations which are useful for the exercise of thought on some of the larger problems of anthropology".

**Early Man in North-East Yorkshire.**— *By Frank Elgee. (John Bellows, Gloucester, 1930). PP. XVI+259. Price 25 s. net.*

In this well got-up volume, the author gives us an up-to-date account of the archaeology of North-East Yorkshire. This area is one of the great prehistoric regions of England. Through a consideration of the prehistoric antiquities of this English country, the author seeks to determine the successive peoples who inhabited it from the remotest past down to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period. He further seeks to trace how the physical features of the country influenced its settlement by these peoples. Some account is also given of the probable origin, way of life, and destiny of the people. The author is intensely interested in his work, and has collated and systematised the abundant materials supplied by earlier literature, collections of local antiquities in Museums, and particularly his own life-long archaeological researches, with considerable care and devotion.

The volume is a very valuable contribution to the prehistoric archaeology of England. It will be warmly welcomed not only by British archaeologists, but by students of prehistoric Archaeology everywhere.

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**The Effect of Western Influence on Native Civilizations in the Malay Archipelago.**—*Edited by Dr. B. Schrieke. (G. Kolff & Co. Batavia, 1929) PP. 247.*

This highly interesting volume is the outcome of a resolution passed at the Third Pan-Pacific Science Congress held at Tokyo in 1926 to the effect that "the utilization of anthropological knowledge be made a subject of prime importance for discussion at the next congress". The volume contains eleven papers from reputed specialists. These papers are:— The Influence of Western civilisation on the Inhabitants of Paso (Central Celebes), by Dr. Alb. C. Kruyt; Ten years of Hygiene and Ethnography in primitive Borneo (1891-1901) by Dr. A. W. Niecrwenhins; the Administration of the Outer Provinces of the Netherlands Indies, by W. Middendosp; the Economic structure of Java, by J. W. Meyer Ranneft; Western Enterprises and the Density of the population in the Netherlands Indies, by J. Van Gelderen; European Influence on Native Agriculture (in Netherlands Indies), by Dr. G. H. Van der Kolff; the Influence of Western Civilisation on the hangerages of the East Indian Archipelago, by Dr. G. W. J. Drewes; Western Influence on the Law for the Native population, by Dr. B. Ter Haar Bzn; Influence of Western administration on the Native community in the Outer Provinces, by Dr. B. J. Haga; Inter-racial Private Law, by Dr. R. D. Kollleurjn; Native society in the Trans-

formation. Period, by Dr. B. Schrieke. Dr. Schrieke also writes a short Introduction to the volume. The volume will amply repay perusal. Besides its interest for anthropologists and sociologists the volume will prove of great interest to Administrators of native peoples, particularly in the East, who will greatly profit by its study. The Missionary will also find it profitable-reading.

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**Folk Tales of All Nations.**— *Edited by F. H. Lee. (Harrap, London, 1931). PP. XIX+947. Price 8 s. 6 d.*

This well got-up and handy volume will prove interesting not only to the anthropologist and folklorist but also to the general reader. Perhaps it will be even more welcome to the latter than to the former, as it gives as much as the average general reader interested in folktales among other subjects, may feel inclined to read. In fact, the short introductions to each of these sixty-four groups of folk-tales representing sixty-four races or countries will stimulate the interest of the general reader and help him in appreciating the tales and something of their scientific bearing. And the volume may not improbably serve to attract some general readers to join the rank of folklorists. And the folklorist, too, will be delighted to renew his acquaintance through the pages of this handy volume with some of his old favourites.

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**Primer of Hinduism.**— *By D. S. Sarma, (Macmillan, Bombay 1929). PP. 147. Price Re. 1.*

Professor Sarma deserves the gratitude of all Hindus by presenting in simple and lucid language the essentials of Hinduism in the entertaining form of dialogues between a Hindu father and his daughter. Besides serving to inculcate the fundamental truths of Hindu religion in the minds of Hindu boys and girls (the book was originally intended for the author's own daughter) it will be of use also to their elders, and will further give a clear idea to non-Hindus, whether Indian or non-Indian, of the basic truth of the Hindu religion and clear away many erroneous impressions.

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**The Origin and Growth of Religion: Facts and Theories.**—*By W. Schmidt. (Translated by H. J. Rose, M.A. (Methuen, 1930). PP. XVI+302. Price 15s. net.*

This book is intended to serve the purpose of a hand-book of a comparative history of religion as conceived by the author. The views of the distinguished author on the subject are well-known to all anthropologists, and though they may not appeal to most, they will certainly provoke thought and must deserve careful study and consideration. Besides giving a summary of his own views as to the origin and growth of the idea of God which he is dealing with in much greater detail of facts and comments in his larger



work *Ursprungder Gotteseide* designed in several volumes (some of which are still to appear), Father Schmidt gives a summarised account of the various past and current theories, movements and schools, and a brief account of religions in the historical order of their appearance as visualised by him. The book is divided into five parts. In Part I, Introduction, Historical and Preliminary Remarks, the author gives his definition of expression 'History of Religion' and its relation to the Psychology of Religion and to the Philosophy of Religion, an Outline History of the subject (the succession of Religions and of cultures, the succession of Theories, the succession of Methods and the succession of Attitudes), and a General Survey of the Comparative Method and its Precursors, Greek and Roman, Christian, in the Middle Ages and in the Age of Discovery (the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries). In Part II, he discusses the theories of the origin of religion current in the Nineteenth century. (Nature Myths, Fetishism, Manism or Ghost-worship, and Animism). In Part III, he deals with the theories of the Twentieth century (Star-Myths and Pan Babylonism, Totemism, Magism and Dynamism). In Part IV, he discusses, the progressive recognition of the Primitive High God in the 19th and 20th centuries. In Part V, he discusses the Historical Method and its results for Ethnology, and the Origin and History, the date and distribution, Nature and Attributes and Worship of the Primitive High Gods. Although Anthropologists who

approach their science from the evolutionary point of view may be inclined to a verdict of "not proven" on Father Schmidt's conclusions, every anthropologist will admire his scientific method of exposition and his excellent survey of the subject and of the theories on it.

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**Hindu Customs in Bengal.**— *By Basanta Coomar Bose, M. A., B. L. (Book Company, Calcutta. 1930). PP. III+ 125. Price Re. 1.*

This little Book gives a popular account of the rites and customs connected with the life-history of a Bengali Hindu. It will be welcome to the foreigner interested in the study of Indian social life as also to the student of Ethnology and Sociology. The orthodox Bengali Hindu customs connected with Pregnancy and Birth, a Child's first Rice-taking, first Hair-cutting, Ear-piercing, initiation of a child into Reading and Writing, investing a boy with the sacred Thread, Marriage, Puberty, Widowhood, Death, Food, and Daily Life in general. It is written in the light of intimate personal knowledge by a Bengali Hindu himself.

### **A Correction.**

In the last number of the Journal, the Miscellaneous Contribution headed **"Village Deities in the Neighbourhood of Khurda"** was contributed by Prof. K. P. Mitra, M. A. But by an oversight no name of author was given at the foot of the paper, and in the list of Contents, on the cover, in place of the name of Prof. K. P. Mitra, the name of Mr. S. C. Mitra was printed by mistake. The Editor regrets this mistake and takes this earliest opportunity of correcting it.

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# 1. ORAON RELIGION AND CUSTOMS.

By RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.

Price.—Twelve Rupees.

## SOME OPINIONS ON THE BOOK.

Col. T. C. Hodson, M. A., *Reader in Ethnology in the University of Cambridge* :— "A book like this—sane, clear, scientific, sympathetic, comprehensive—is of prime importance to the student of Anthropology, to the student of Religion and to the Administrator who seeks or should seek to understand the forces which govern human activities, and it is full of charm and interest for the general reader who desires to know something at once accurate and intelligible of the Peoples of India".

Dr. R. R. Marett, M. A., D. Sc., *Rector of Exeter College Oxford* :—"In my opinion the latest work of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, namely, *Oraon Religion and Customs* (Ranchi, 1928), fully maintains the high standard of accurate observation and critical interpretation already reached by him in his well-known researches for which European scholars are exceedingly grateful ; for it is obvious that, so long as he accepts the same canons of inductive enquiry, the Indian investigator has a better chance of probing and penetrating to the truth in regard to all things Indian and especially in regard to the psychological facts."

Sir Arthur Keith, M. A., M. D., L. L. D., F. R. C. S., F. R. S., :—"I am very conscious of the great work you have done and are doing. There is no school or college of Anthropology but will make a special place for this your latest work both on its library shelves and in its heart. I doubt if any one has ever done so much for the Anthropology of a people as you have done for the Oraon. I endorse all my friend Col. Hodson has written in his preface and in particular would I underline your disinterested and persistent labour for the advance of Science".

Dr. Roland B. Dixon, A. M., Ph. D., *Professor of Anthropology in the Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.*, :—

I was delighted to get your recent book on *Oraon Religion and Customs* and have reviewed it for the *American Anthropologist*. The

book carries on the high standard which you have set in your previous works, and presents the material in a very effective form. I congratulate you on it most cordially.

**The Times** (London, February 28, 1929):— A very detailed account of the religion and magic of the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur, a people of Dravidian speech. It is based on twelve years' investigation by a highly competent ethnologist, who has already published a work on this people. It can be seen what a rich field there is in India among the more primitive peoples, which, indeed, can best be tilled by trained Indian ethnologists. There is a long chapter also on movements during the last hundred years and more among the Oraons towards a higher, simpler religion, which will interest students of religious psychology.

**The Nature** (London, March 9, 1929):— Ethnologists are indebted to Sarat Chandra Roy for his valuable book "*The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur*" (1915), and now he has provided a study of *Oraon Religion and Customs* which should be read by all those who are interested in primitive religions. The especial value of this book is not merely in the detailed accounts of socio-religious and religious rites and ceremonies and magical practices, but in the very suggestive religious transformations that have occurred since the Oraons arrived, and the process is still continuing.

**The Discovery.** (London, February 1929):— When the history of ethnological study in India comes to be written, the name of the author of this work is least likely to be overlooked. By his own work and by his encouragement of others as editor of the periodical *Man in India*, he has deserved well of his colleagues in anthropology. Sarat Chandra Roy has published here the promised continuation of his studies of the *Oraon* of which the first instalment appeared as long ago as 1915. The author is here concerned only with their religious and magical beliefs, both directly in themselves and in their relation to the Oraon social institutions, such as are involved in birth, marriage and death. Of particular interest to students of folklore and primitive religion are the sections dealing with agricultural ceremonies and the belief in witchcraft which afford much useful material for both comparison and contrast with European folklore.

A final chapter deals with revival movements and modern tendencies in Oraon religion which is highly suggestive and deserves the careful attention of all who are in any way interested in or connected with the problems of administration among peoples of non-European culture.

**The Statesman** (Calcutta, March 17, 1929):— The Rai Bahadur is wellknown for his excellent monographs on the *Mundas* and the *Oraons*, and is everywhere recognized as an anthropologist of rare insight. India, with its great variety of races, nationalities, creeds, customs, and cultures affords an excellent field for the anthropologist and sociologist. This new book will be studied with delight by scientists in many countries. The author has made a capital use of his opportunities of studying the several tribes of aborigines in Chota-Nagpur and Central India.

**The Forward** (Calcutta, February 19, 1929):— The learned author is a pioneer in the field of anthropology and needs no introduction. His previous works— *The Birhors*, *The Mundas* and *The Oraons* are classics and had already established a world-wide reputation for him. The present volume is a befitting successor to his previous works. It is the outcome of the author's deep and laborious investigations into the religion and customs of the *Oraons*, a much-neglected tribe of Chota-Nagpur, carried on for a long period of about twelve years and as such an invaluable treasure to students of anthropology and students of religion.

The get-up of the book is excellent. In short, the book leaves nothing to be desired.

**The Servant of India** (Poona, May 30, 1929):— The book is worthy of the author, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy of Ranchi, who is a well-known student of anthropology relating to the aboriginal tribes of Chota-Nagpur and the Central Indian Plateau.

The chapter on socio-religious rites and ceremonies is very interesting and demands careful study. The last chapter on the *Oraon Religion* with its revival movements is exceedingly instructive.

We strongly recommend the book to students of anthropology as well as to the general reader.

**The Modern Review** (Calcutta, January, 1929)— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is one of the few Indians who has shown a keen interest in the study of the primitive folks



of this country. In fact, the works that he has already published have earned for him the reputation of being our foremost authority on the aborigines of Chota-Nagpur. The present volume on *Oraon Religion and Customs* is the sequel to his earlier work on *The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur* (1915). In it the Rai Bahadur has given an exhaustive account of the religions and social institutions of this interesting tribe, the result of close personal observation and intimate acquaintance spreading over a period of twenty years. He has analysed the Oraon beliefs into their purely religious and magical sides and has described the customs and rites associated with the chief crises of life. As an authoritative treatment therefore of Oraon life in all its phases, including some of the modern tendencies, his account could hardly be improved.

The book is well-printed and illustrated and the price is moderate for a work of this kind. For students of Anthropology in the Post-Graduate classes of our Universities it should form a very handy and reliable text-book for some of their courses.

**The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society** (Bangalore, July, 1929):— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is too well known in the anthropological world to need any introduction. The publication of a volume on *Oraon Religion and Customs* was foreshadowed in 1915, when his *Oraons of Chota-Nagpur* first appeared. He has since been engaged in the investigation of their religion and customs for well-nigh twelve years, and the results are embodied in the present richly illustrated volume.

The work is full of charm and interest to the general reader who desires to know something of the religion and customs of this interesting people. We have great pleasure in commending this volume to all students of anthropology.

## **N. B.**

As only a limited number of copies have been printed, intending purchasers are requested to place their orders with the undersigned without delay.

**The Manager,**  
**'MAN IN INDIA' Office,**  
*Church Road, Ranchi,*  
*Chota Nagpur, B. N. Ry.*

## BOOKS FOR SALE.

at the "MAN IN INDIA" office,  
Church Road, Ranchi.

**2. THE BIRHORS :** *a Little-known Jungle Tribe of Chota-Nagpur.*—By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., M. L. C. Pp. viii+608, 36 plates. (Ranchi : "MAN IN INDIA" Office, 1925).  
Price Rs. 10/-; or 15 s.

### SOME OPINIONS.

SIR JAMES G. FRAZER, D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D., F. B. A., F. R. S., O. M., Professor of Anthropology in the Trinity College, Cambridge writes :—

.....I find it characterised by the same high qualities a mark your former monographs on the **Mundas** and **Oraons**. You have rendered a valuable service to anthropology by placing on record the customs and beliefs of a very primitive tribe about which very little was known before and which, but for your careful and prolonged observations, might have passed away practically unknown. As in your former volumes I admire the diligence with which you have collected a large body of interesting facts and the perfect lucidity with which you have set them forth. The book is a fine specimen of a monograph on an Indian tribe and must always remain the standard authority on the subject. I congratulate you heartily on your achievement, and earnestly trust that you will continue your valuable investigation and give us other similar accounts of other primitive and little known Indian tribes.

SIR ARTHUR KEITH, M. D., F. R. C. S., L. L. D., F. R. S., Conservator of the Museum and Hunterian Professor, Royal College of Surgeons of England, writes :—

.....You have done a splendid piece of work—one which will make Europe indebted to you.....

DR. A. C. HADDON, M. A., Sc. D., F. R. S., Reader in Ethnology, of Cambridge, writes :—

.....Your accustomed excellent work. It is a most useful contribution to Indian Ethnology.....

DR. ROLAND B. DIXON, A. M., PH. D., Professor of Anthropology in the Harvard University writes :—

.....You are certainly doing work to be proud of in the studies you have published of the Chota-Nagpur tribes, and all anthropologists are in your debt. If only we could have similar studies of all the wilder peoples of India, how fine it would be !.....

THE NATURE, (London: September 19, 1925):—

.....Students of Indian anthropology are deeply indebted to Mr. Roy for the light he has thrown on the past and present culture of the Chota-Nagpur plateau. In the *Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal* he has opened up new ground in the archaeology of his area. His monographs on the *Mundas* and *Oraons* are classics. "The Birhors" is yet another first-rate study, a study not merely of an obscure tribe but also of the workings of that mysterious complex of thought and feeling which go to make up human culture.....Mr. Roy is never a theoriser or a partisan; his diction is simple and precise, his inspiration comes straight from the hearts of the humble folk he has made his friends.

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**3. THE MUNDAS AND THEIR COUNTRY.** With numerous illustrations, and an Introduction by SIR EDWARD GAIT, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S., PH. D.

Price—Six Rupees.

#### SOME OPINIONS.

SIR J. G. FRAZER, D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D., F. B. A., F. R. S., Professor of Social Anthropology in the University of Liverpool, writes :—

It is a work of great interest and high value as a full and accurate description of an Indian Hill-tribe. I congratulate you on having produced it. You must have given much time and labour to the researches which you have embodied in this book. But the time and labour have been well spent. The description seems extremely clear and well written in the simple language which is appropriate to the theme, and the translations of the poetry are charming.

# MAN IN INDIA.

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Vol. XI. } JULY—DEC., 1931. { No. 3 & 4.

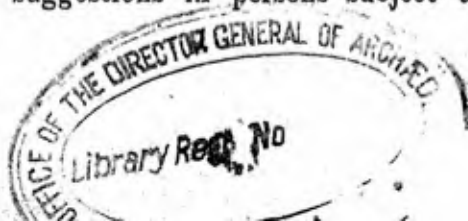
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## I. LYCANTHROPY.

By

J. H. HUTTON.

The term 'Lycanthropy', though by derivation strictly applicable only for the taking by men of wolf forms, is applied generally to the belief in the transformation of men into wolves or other carnivorous animals, the form taken being ordinarily that of the most formidable wild animal of the country,—bears in Scandinavia, wolves on the continent of Europe, jaguars in South America, tigers, leopards or hyaenas in Asia or Africa, the latter form being particularly associated with attacks on corpses rather than on living beings. The actual practice of lycanthropy is clearly associated with a form of hysteria and a pathological condition (it has frequently been recorded in pregnant women) manifesting a depraved appetite and an irresistible desire for raw flesh, often that of human beings, frequently accompanied by a belief on the part of the patient that he is transformed into an animal. In the Malay race such a state is deliberately induced by suggestions in persons subject to that



form of extreme suggestibility known as *latah*. Cases of tiger spirits and the like induced to enter human bodies and resulting in similar symptoms must be classed with *latah* forms of the affliction while the salves, skins, girdles etc. used by wer-wolves, particularly in Europe, to affect transformation are probably to be regarded as material aids to hallucination.

Ideas on lycanthropy have also become confused with beliefs as to the separable soul which often appear in cognate forms. Beliefs in witches and their familiar spirits; in the power of witches to assume other bodily shapes, to alienate their souls or their vital principles and keep them for safety in some obscure animal or plant in distant places; belief in the general possession of a bush soul or *nagual*, as in Central America; belief in totem ancestors, and in the reincarnation of the soul in predatory creatures such as tigers, alligators and sharks; belief in possession by evil spirits—all these ideas associated with the experienced facts of lycanthropy have engendered a large number of variable, confused and sometimes fantastic beliefs associated with lycanthropy in various parts of the world.

The lycanthropist was known to the Greeks, who spoke also of kynanthropy, and Marcellus of Sida describes men as usually attacked early in the year, frequenting cemeteries and living like dogs and wolves. The Romans used a more general term *versipellis* (cf. English "turnskin") for lycanthropists. Virgil (Ecl. VIII) ascribes metamorphosis into wolf form to the action of drugs.

Pliny gives a story of a hereditary transformation associated with Jupiter Lycæus ; Agriopas ascribes a man as turned into a wolf after assisting at a human sacrifice to the same god ; and Petronius tells a typical wer-wolf story. In Scandinavia and England lycanthropy seems to have been associated with outlawry, and the term *berserker* probably implies a man who was not only subject to accesses of bestial fury but who wore garment of bear or wolf skin. In the case of *berserker* the lycanthropic tendency seems to have been involuntary, but in Europe generally it is ascribed to deliberate choice and throughout the Middle Ages persons were believed to use magical means to transform themselves into wolves.

The tradition is not extinct on the continent of Europe, and in the British Isles still lingers (in Somersetshire and Arran, for instance) in the belief in old women who turn themselves into hares. If the hare be hurt a corresponding hurt remains in the human body, which is characteristic of the belief generally. The usual method of effecting the change in Europe was by rubbing with magic salve or by putting on a girdle of wolf skin, or sometimes of human skin. Involuntary transformation also occurs as the result of enchantment as in Marie de France's poem "Bisclaveret", or of miracles such as that of St. Patrick who changed Vereticus, King of Wales, into a wolf. Although in the European form transformation is usual, another type of lycanthropy is described by Rhanaeus as occurring



in Courland in which there is no bodily transformation; the human body remains in a cataleptic trance but in such sympathy with a real wolf attacking cattle that the human limbs move and twitch as the wolf commits his depredations. This form of lycanthropy corresponds precisely with a form taken in Assam. The werwolf is called *vrkolak* by Bulgars and Slovaks, and by modern Greeks *brukolakas*. Here again the body remains cataleptic while the soul enters a wolf. After its return the body is exhausted and aches as after violent exercise. This form is connected in popular belief with vampires, and Serbs give the same name (*Vlkoslak*) to both, thus affording a link between the corresponding wer-tiger and vampire beliefs in Assam, where the vampire's astral body devours persons' livers and causes their death.

Werwolves (*loup-garou*) appear to have been particularly active in France during the XVIth century, but by the end of it the true nature of the malady was recognized. In the cases of Roulet tried at Angers in 1598 and of Jean Grenier in 1603 at Bordeaux the accused, though convicted, were treated as insane. The description given of Roulet is not unlike that given of the "wolf children" who turn up from time to time in India, and in the latter case the werwolf asserted that he became a lycanthropist under the bidding of a supernatural being who came to him in the forest, an account identical with that given by Sema wer-leopards in Assam. Cases of cannibalism are recorded in Scotland in the Fifteenth Century, but the cannibals do not seem to have been ever

accused of being werwolves, though the belief lingered, and Verstegan (*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities*, 1628) says of werwolves that they "does not onely unto the view of others seem as wolves, but to their owne thinking have both the shape and nature of wolves.....and dispose themselves as very wolves." In Asia we find the belief in Armenia, where sinful women are punished by becoming lycanthropists at the bidding of a spirit who brings them a wolf-skin. They eat their own children. Herodotus mentions the Neuri, a Scythian tribe, as lycanthropists who changed into wolf-form annually, and associates them with head-hunters, and in Assam we still find head-hunting Nagas subject to lycanthropy individually and believing that there are neighbouring tribes who are wer-tigers communally.

The belief in lycanthropy is current in India in connection with both the wolf and the tiger. Both sexes of the Kols of Central India are believed to turn into tigers, and Dalton reports a case of a Kol tried for murder who had followed the tiger which had devoured his wife, to the house of another Kol named Pusa. This man's own relatives said he had long been suspected of such malpractices and abetted the killing of him, and explained that they had known of his devouring an entire goat one night and having roared like a tiger while doing so, and that on another occasion he had expressed a longing for a particular bullock, and the same night the bullock was killed by a tiger. The "wolf children" who appear periodically, whe-

ther or not they have actually been suckled by wild animals, often display symptoms of a depraved appetite similar to those of lycanthropy. A case occurred in Bhagalpur between 1912 and 1919 in which one Rupa Sao, a shopkeeper, attacked and killed a little girl by biting her throat. He was convicted of murder, but the High Court, on a reference, ordered him to be confined as a lunatic. In Assam some tribes are lycanthropic while their neighbours are not, thus the Garos are but not the pure Khasi, the Sema Nagas are but not the Angami Nagas, while among many tribes, such as the Kachari, there are clans claiming descent from or relationship with tigers. The Angami regard lycanthropy as due to drinking from a certain well, but the Sema, who are subject to it, both men and women, regard it as involuntary and acquired normally under supernatural influence. The body is not transformed, but falls into a mild cataleptic fit during which the soul is inhabiting the body of a real leopard. Apparently some sympathetic association is set up between the human being and a wild animal, as in the Ao Naga tribe a relationship of this kind is set up without any lycanthropic symptoms on the part of the human being (see Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, pp. 250 sqq.). The Lhota Naga medicine-men have leopard familiars, but generally the Naga idea of lycanthropy rather suggests the Central American idea of the *magual* or bush soul. An unusually well-authenticated case of a human child's being brought up by a leopard was reported from North Cachar in Assam by Stuart Baker in the

*Bombay Natural History Society's Journal* in 19.....

Wer-tigers are believed in Burma, where the Tamans of the Chindwin valley are reported to transform themselves into tiger form by rolling on earth on which they have micturated. In Malaya, lycanthropy is common and is associated with *latah*, as it appears to be a regular amusement to hypnotise a boy subject to this disorder and to cause him to think he is a civet cat and behave as such, running on all fours and devouring live chickens. Skeat (*Malay Magic*, p. 160-163) mentions the case of one Haji Abdullah caught naked in a tiger trap in Sumatra, but the wer-tigers of the Malay Peninsula are thought invulnerable in their transformed state, a curious exception to the almost universal belief that a wound on the animal causes a corresponding injury on the human form. In the Celebes the Toradja belief approximates to that of the Naga Hills, the soul, *lamboyo*, which undergoes transformation being apparently identical with the *tanoana* of the Poso-Alfures. As in the Naga Hills the lycanthropic habit may be acquired by eating food left by a lycanthropist. In Java, the practice may be voluntarily acquired by *spelis* etc., or may be inherited, as in Assam, and this view has no doubt some pathological justification. As among the Khonds of India, the transformation is sought in Java for purposes of revenge, or to guard the crops, as in Yucatan, which possibly brings lycanthropy into connection with fertility cults, as does the use of an animal form and the association with witches in Europe.

In Africa the leopard and the hyæna are the

animals usually connected with lycanthropists, who are usually women in Abyssinia, where the lycanthropist is regarded as possessed and usually belongs to the blacksmith class. The Bondas, however, claim actual transformations, which is reported to have been witnessed by an European, who also claimed to have shot hyaenas with gold ear-rings in their ears. In West Africa an intimate relation is created by a blood bond between a man and an animal, and as in the Naga Hills if the latter die the former will also die, though in the Naga Hills it is (significantly) not until he hears of the death of the leopard. The Bori dancing of Nigeria also seems to connect in some aspects with the *latah* of Malaya. How strong the instinct of the beast may be can be judged from Tremearne's account of a child of one of the cannibal tribes found in the bush and brought up in an institution where having heard of the death of another child, he managed to get at the corpse and eat its face (*Tailed Headhunters of Nigeria*, p. 184). The societies of "human leopards" and "human alligators" in West Africa appear to be organized manifestations of a depraved taste for human flesh like that displayed in the hyæna form of lycanthropy, and ghouls in Syria have also been associated with temporary wolf or hyæna forms. That this propensity is not entirely destroyed by civilization is shown by a case which occurred in 1849 in Paris when an officer was convicted of digging up and mutilating corpses in cemeteries under pathological conditions suggesting

lycanthropy. The outbreaks of cattle-maiming that occur from time to time in Great Britain are probably likewise attributable to a survival of the lycanthropic instinct.

Bibliography:—Marcellus Sidetes, *Peri Lucanthropu* (frag.); Bourquelot and Nyauld, *de la lycanthropie* (Paris, 1615); Lenbuscher, *über die wehrwölf* (1850); Hertz, *Der warwolf* (Stuttgart, 1862); Baring Gould, *Book of were-wolves* (1865); Hack Tuke, *Dictionary of Psychological Medicine*, s. v. "Lycanthropy"; *Dict. des sciences médicales*; Hutton, *Leopard-men in the Naga Hills*, *J.R.A.I.* 1920 (revised and republished in the Smithsonian Report for 1921). N.W. Thomas and J.F. Mc'Lennan, *Encycl. Brit*, 11th Edition, s. vv. "Lycanthropy" and "Werwolf," mention a number of other works from the Middle Ages onwards which deal with lycanthropy, or some aspect of it, incidentally, and to their list might be added Murray, *Witch Cult of Western Europe*; Frazer, *Golden Bough* Vol. XI; Swettenham, *Malay Sketches*; Skeat, *Malay Magic*; an article by O'May in *Folk-Lore* XXI, p. 371 (1910), and Beatty, *Human Leopards* (1915). \*

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## II. CULTURAL AFFINITIES BETWEEN INDIA AND POLYNESIA.

(*A preliminary study*).

BY PANCHANAN MITRA, M. A., P. R. S., PH D.

*Introduction.*—In 1928 I met in Calcutta the eminent Polynesian ethnologist who had come in his search for the origins of Polynesian culture westwards and westwards to India. In 1929 on the kind invitation of Director H. E. Gregory I was travelling through Northern, Central and Southern Polynesia in search of Indian elements in Polynesian culture. Visiting the islands of Oahu, Kawaii, Hawaii, Samoa, Fiji, New Zealand, Rarotonga and Tahiti, studying the great ethnographic collections of the Bishop Museum and Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin collections and coming in personal contact with some hoary-headed Polynesian ethnologists like Elsdon Best who welcomed me as coming from the old homeland of the Maoris and being mistaken as a Polynesian islander in several places, I understood how close the similarities are between places whose cultures and peoples are now the furthest apart possible.

*Differences.*—At the outset however a word of caution is necessary. The differences between the two sets of cultures are the greatest possible to-day. The Polynesians do not or rather did not possess at the time they were discovered by Captain Cook any metals, any writing, any cloth any cattle, cereals, wheel or plough that goes with

all that is fundamental or ancient in Indian and other older civilisations of the Old World. Wherein then lay the similarities or affinities which have led many Polynesian scholars like Fornander and Percy Smith to ascribe an Indian origin to the Polynesians?

*First impressions and importance of the similarities.—*

On the other hand, my first contact with the Polynesians and such vestiges of their old life as have not still been swept away by modern civilisation was a sort of revelation to me. It was on landing on the shores of Tutuila in Samoa where the American legislation is trying to preserve rigorously the old life by the exclusion of any foreign settlements that my first surprise came. Here, as not in present day Hawaii or New Zealand, the old dress is still being adhered to in preference to European costume. Dressed in clothes that looked exactly like that worn in Madras or Burma today these people of light complexion with slight admixture of darkness could easily have been taken to be peoples from India. The huts, the mat which was spread for me when I was welcomed by a Hawaiian chief, the cordiality of the welcome and the simple manner yet refinement of bearing reminded me strongly of Indian coasts. I could not but feel that here I was in the presence of culture which perhaps had long long ago sway over India but which there had been since overlaid by more complex elements and developments. I felt that perhaps many elements of Indian social structure and culture complexities could be un-

ravelled in their origins by a study of these under simpler conditions in insular isolation. As Rivers had truly pointed out:—"Without the light given by the analysis of Indonesian culture it might be impossible to detect the earlier strata upon which the later influences have been imposed and on which the civilisations have been founded (in India, China and Japan). If, therefore, the analysis of Indian Chinese or Japanese culture rests upon that of Indonesian culture, and if this in turn rests upon the analysis of the cultures of Melanesia and Polynesia it will be evident how great is the importance of Oceania to the science of Ethnology. It is only through isolation due to the insular character that there have been preserved often apparently in a wonderfully pure form, samples of cultures which have contributed to the building of some perhaps of all of the great historic civilisations of the earth" (W.H.R. Rivers: *The History of Melanesian Society* Vol. II p. 231). Thus in coming to study the question of Polynesian origins I had stumbled on some special aspects of the origins of some Indian traits of culture.

*The environmental features.*—Culture, as Dixon well points out, has come to be used by anthropologists, sociologists and others as a designation of that totality of a people's products and activities, social and religious order, customs and beliefs which in the case of the more advanced we have been accustomed to call their civilization. (R. B. Dixon—*The Building of Cultures*, New York, 1928, p. 1). Wissler has clearly shown that cul-

ture is in fact, at least, an exploitation of the immediate geographical environment, though the influence of the environment appears as a passive limiting agency rather than a casual factor in the development of tribal life (*Introduction to Social Anthropology*, New York, 1929 p. 339). The oceanic group of islands in the Pacific has been conveniently divided into three well-marked zones Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia which do not include the great island-continent of Australia in the South. On the South West, the Pacific islands with New Guinea and the inner chain of islands connected with the larger islands of Indonesia form what is known as Melanesia. Within the angle roughly formed by a line running through Pelew Island towards the Phillippines the very small group of islands are called Micronesia. Eastward beyond Fiji and northward beyond New Ireland lie the floating continent of Polynesia, comprising of numerous smaller and bigger islands separated by thousands of miles from each other. They stretch away from the Carolines to the Easter Island which is separated by a space of nearly 2500 miles from the South American coast, and they stretch from the South Island of New Zealand to Hawaii.

The distribution of land-animals in distant isolated islands must indicate either transport or former land connection. We all know that we can no longer take refuge in a continent of Lemuria to explain early human migrations. In an illuminating paper on the *Geography of the*

*Pacific*, Dr. H. E. Gregory showed clearly that the existance of land-connections beyond a certain line can not be admitted. The five big islands—Sumatra, Java, Celebes, Ceram, Papua, and beyond that even the islands, as far as Fiji are grouped in such a manner as to form continuous land. For the lands east of the line stretching from New Zealand past the Kermadecs, Tonga and Samoa continuing northward with their irregular distribution and wide pacing with little that is common to Asia or America, the difficulties of immigration were immense. Thus east of this Gregory line the human inhabitants that were first discovered by the Europeans could not have travelled dry-shod over land as man very probably did into Australia and Tasmania in Pleistocene times when these land-masses were parts of the Asiatic land-mass.

One word is necessary here. Since Mathews, the tendency of current opinion of scientists is to hold that South Central Asia or somewhere near the Siwaliks was the centre of dispersal of the giant Anthropoids and early races of man. So, many of the earlier waves that passed into other lands either passed through India or had their repercussions by migrations of allied bands into India. That is why a clear analysis of the cultural relationship and ethnic connections between different zones of the earth are important chapters of human history as a whole.

Real students of Polynesian lore like Fornander and Percy Smith make much of Polynesian genealogies and try to reconstruct the history of the

Polynesian voyagers as also of the fatherland from which they started. It must be here pointed out that of the Pacific peoples the Polynesians alone had a great liking for genealogies. Like the Indian princes always descended whether from the Sun or the Moon the Polynesians had genealogies from Tumu and Papa who are said to have lived in *Atia te Varingi Nui* which according to Percy Smith refers to India teeming with rice.

Atia te Varingi nui is the original land

From which we sprang;

Avaiki te varingi is the original land

From which we sprang.

Iti nui is the original land

From which we sprang ;

Papua is the original land

From which we sprang.

Avaiki is the original land

From which we sprang;

Kuporu is the original land

From which we sprang.

Manuka is the original land

From which we sprang.

The traditions of the homeland and the evaluation of the early chronologies have been challenged effectively by my freind Mr. John F. G. Stokes (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, March 1930) and have been shown to be not very reliable prior to about 31 generations when it becomes almost mythical. In the earlier parts it concerns about descent from Wakea, Akea, Avatea, Vatea or Atea who had displaced Tiki in some legends in



which Tiki which stands for images also and phallic signs somewhat similar to Siva, and Papa is mother earth whose another variant is Hina the moon-maiden, the first woman. In India we know the early association of the moon with the Siva cult, the crescent appearing on the forehead of Chandrasekhara and Siva being called Vyom-kesa, having space or sky as hair. Earth and Heaven are associated in the *Bigveda* in *Dyavaprithivi* in several places who as in Polynesia are addressed as the primeval parents as having gods as sons. In Hawaii the alternative of Papa is Haumea recalling the Vedic epithets *Ksam*, *Ksa* or *Gma* for earth occurring also in the couple as *Dyavaksama*. There are dynastics in Jajpur who are addressed as Bhauma Varusa—the family sprung from Earth line. *Dyava* from *Div* to shine as the light expanse is similar in import to Atea or Atua which was again the general term for a deity as the *Deva* in the Vedic literature. Thus Wakes is associated with Tame who is associated with the water of life like *Danu* which several times means stream which once designates the waters of heaven (Bergaigne, *Le Religion Vedique* 2,220). Dr. E. S. C. Handy points out that the assumption of Vedic relationship rests on the fact that there are more definite and more numerous parallels with the Vedic than with any other classic religion. Furthermore the hypothesis of Indic derivation is in harmony with evidence of other cultural and racial studies and with historic probabilities' (Handy, *Polynesian Religion* p. 317).

Coming to the racial elements in Oceania and Polynesia more particularly we are impressed with the composition of the peoples of Oceania with more or less Negroid and Mongoloid traits nearer the mainland of Asia and Caucasian traits still further off. The prevalence of a Melanesian element in the easternmost groups of Easter Islands has led to many conjectures of the dark element superposed in Polynesia by a definitely White race. The great Maori scholar Te Rangi Hiroa or Peter Buck has admirably summarised the latest knowledge about Polynesian migrations (*The Races of the Pacific* in the Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, Hawaii, July 15th to 29th 1927, Honolulu, 1927.)

*Racial Types*.:—Buck has traced the successive migrations of man from South Central Asiatic home eastwards,—first, the Tasmanian, then the Australians, then the Negritos of the Andaman Islands and perhaps some places in Malaysia and Indonesia. Then came the Negroids in two waves to New Guinea and the black islands of Melanesia as far east as Fiji which appear to have already been accessible from land as we learn from Gregory. But it required a race with superior initiative and courage to people the islands separated by thousands of miles. These were the Proto-Polynesians bred from a Caucasian stock. Mixed with perhaps some Mongoloid blood somewhere in Indonesia or South East Asia or Indonesia these daring seafarers started with canoes scooped

out with stone adges for the great Kiva (the Pacific ocean of the Maori). Instead of taking a southern route along the coast of New Guinea they chose the Northern route, probably through Micronesia which includes the Marianas, Carolines and Marshall Island where over 90 per cent of the population is Polynesian, and reached the Samoan group which formed the distributing centre. The Fijis were colonised after fighting with a dark race. From Samoa was reached the Society islands in which Raiatea and Tahiti became the chief traditional distributing centres. An Eastern wave thence passed to the Taumotos, Marquesas and Austral groups as far east as Easter Island. Expeditions sailed to the North and colonized the Hawaii group. In the South West, New Zealand was discovered in the tenth century and its final settlement is dated at 14th century. The start from the Asiatic mainland is put at the beginning of the Christian era.

The successive waves of migration should be clearly caught sight of:—Negrito and Tasmanian lost to us entirely,—then the Papuan and Indonesian. A series of wayes passed from—Asiatic mainland to Indonesia and thence to Micronesia and Hawaii or through North Melanesia to Polynesia. Long subsequently a second period of movements including Indonesians and Malays passed by north of New Guinea directly into Polynesia. Coincident with or perhaps preceding the departure of the second main wave Hindu elements penetrated to Sumatra and Java. It is as yet difficult to say whether this invasion of

Indian cultures and peoples was a cause of emigration of the late Polynesian ancestors but it seems possible that some of these latter were slightly influenced by Indian contact; and we must admit the possibility that these Hindu or South Indian elements may have been transmitted by trade and other factors.

One thing at once is apparent that whatever the origins and however migrations might have taken place the peoples are very different from the Melanesians nor had they much to do with Papuan or Australian stock. Linguistically the Polynesians are held to be of the Malay-Polynesian group and allied to the Munda-Mon-Khmer. Physically it seems that here in Polynesia evidently had been a superposition of a non-Mongoloid broad-headed stock over a darker stratum. What is needed is working out of the racial correlations with the new racial data collected by Dr. Shapiro of the New York Museum added to the older data of Sullivan and try them with the various racial groups of India.

Rivers in an illuminating article on the Peopling of Polynesia gives a study of the stratification of the population in Polynesia associated with different methods of disposal of the dead as of two main varieties—interment in a sitting position and preservation in a cave in the house, in an imitation of the house or in a vault which may be regarded as a grave beneath the ground. "It is noteworthy that in all these latter forms the body is placed in the extended position, in distinc-

tion from the contracted and sitting position in which the bodies of the ordinary people are interred in Melanesia" (*Psychoogy and Ethnology*, London, 1926, p. 247). Burial in a sitting position is found amongst the Devanga, Kamabattu weavers, Kammalans, Vellalas, Parayans, and Okkihiyans of Coimbatore, Pisharoti of Travancore, Yeruvass of Coorg, Irulas of the Nilgiris and the Kadirs. In North India amongst the Oswals the body is placed in a sitting position when a canopied chair is used and the Banwars bury their dead in a recumbent position. The Jugis who are found over a great part of the North of India and the Lingayets who are associated with the cult of Siva bury their dead in what they call the *Padmasan*, the posture of Yoga. These followers of the Siva cult often wear the phallic emblem which recalls the wearing of *ṭiki* which is said to be phallic in significance and associations. The wide extension of this custom and their restriction to the primitive populations naturally argue for their antiquity and age in India. In Polynesia it is the commoners who were buried in this position. In his *History of Melanesian Society*, Rivers supposes that there were an aboriginal people restricted to Melanesia and a combined Melanesian-Polynesian migration who buried their dead in a sitting posture, who believed in spirits dwelling underground, who removed the dead body completely and formed a dual organisation and matrilineal descent followed by a Kava people, the earlier of whom practised mummification and the later interment in a sitting position; these later were succeeded by betel-people

with head-hunting, succeeded still later by people who practised cremation,—the two last being confined to Melanesia. It is to some aspects of the study of material culture that I now proceed.

*Habitation*.:— The first thing that struck me was that there was very little to choose between our house *Vari* of any *para* villages and the *Whare* of the Polynesians. Prof. Rivet in his useful list which he handed over to me in Paris has collected under the title 'Lieu de habitation d'un dieu ou d'un roi'—the general terms—*bar*, *bara*, *barag* the Munda terms *bari awar*, the MonKhmer terms *haleh* and *barah* as parts of a building, the Indonesian terms *bela*, *balai* etc and the Melanesian terms *vale*, *falefale*, *hale* etc followed in Polynesia, by similar terms. The defects of Rivet's list, as Dixon has pointed out, is that they are not specific enough. But the great importance of the continuity of a cultural word for an important object of material life is shown in such a list. We have to enquire of the differences and similarities in the Assam area, or Malaysia and the incidents of similarity or difference have to be calculated before the centre of dispersal in the culture area can be finally ascertained. In the Polynesian zone we have the peripheral group of Hawaiian 'Hale', Marquesan 'Hae' and New Zealand 'Whare' while the central group sticks to 'fale' (Samoan) Tongan) or 'Fare' (Tahitian). A habitation complex in Linton's list has 10 traits and in one table of Clements 33 traits and detailed distribution of each has to be studied. The Vaidic terms for a



house are different *Griha, dama, pastya* and *harmya*. But the parts were very similar. The huts were not circular nor were they of one part, the roof and the other parts being different. In a Hawaiian house, according to Malo, there were ridgepole (*Kaupaku*) and endposts (*pou-hana*) corresponding to Vedic *Visuvant* and *upamit* and beams. *Oa* in Hawaii were leant at an angle like the Vedic *pratimat* and there were smaller *aho* or poles like vedic *aksu*. The watching was of *pili* grass in Hawaii and of *palada* grass in a Vedic hut. There were various names for the fixing of the structure in various parts, e. g. *nahana, pranaha, samdamsa, parisuvajalya*. While invited to a Samoan chief's house with a thatched roof and sidewalls of wicker-work with a *chatai-like* or Vedic *Bhitti-like* mat spread before me and the people all dressed in loin clothes except the women who had modern European-like garments, all squatting in the Eastern fashion, except for the different language it was hard to think that it was not one of the villages of South India. The anomalies of a Dietz hurricane lantern or of a gramophone of modern times only completed the illusion. Of course the Kava-drinking in cocoanut cups and the songs accompanied by clapping of hands and the presence of Tapa made me realise the difference.

Of the furnitures in the house the most conspicuous would be wooden pots in a sling (like *sikyā* in a Vedic *sālā*) with wooden vessels or clabashes—*ipu* or *kumete* in Hawaii,—*pisila, dru* and *drona* being wooden vessels in Vedic life. The

beds in Vedic times were made of reeds—*Nadvalā*, reed-bed. *Talpa* a hard bed in Rigveda and Atharvaveda might have some connection with *Tārpya* which meant a garment made by spreading out, *stālpya* being the old Indo-Iranian form, the Polynesian *taprs* being beaten out.

Surveying the entire Polynesian area we find that so far as houses are concerned the platform is constant, large and rectangular in the peripheral areas of Hawaii and New Zealand, though absent in New Zealand and rare in Society Islands which was the nucleus of the migrations in the thirteenth century. So far this trait had apparently come with the older migration and its rareness in central regions of Tahiti and Samoa and Tonga might be due to the influence of the secondary migrations. The framework of the old house type was evidently ridgepole and end-posts or rigid triangle roof-support as is found over the major part of India though in the primitive tracts houses on tree-tops as in Central India or circular archetype could be judged from the old Buddhist *dagobas* and *topes*. Mere leaf shelters or palm leaf roofing is known from several primitive zones and in Sindh the roof is flat—of mere wattle. The door in the Polynesian peripheral area was a wooden slide door or mat (the Bengali word *madura* may retain some old connections between mats and door) which was absent in the central area. The slide door of mat or bamboo slits is still prevalent in the East Bengal zone. Similarly there was a permanent division into floor and bed in the marginal area which was absent in the

central area. There was another type—the houses on posts as in the Assam area used for store-houses in the marginal area. The sacred houses were like dwelling-houses in both the central and the marginal area which might show later standardised type from Tahiti.

Houses on posts are however known in the Assam area for ordinary purposes and the Morung or bachelor's house in that area as well as the *giti-ora* and the *marai* or rice store in Bengal is generally on pales. The widespread name in Central and Southern Polynesia is *Marae* or *Malae* which is also a place of gathering or *mela* or fair; at least in Samoa the name *malae* with all things arranged for sale brought that ring of a familiar name to me.

*Dress*:—The use of bark cloth is continuous from Assam to the Pacific, its sacredness and antiquity being recognised and leading to the use by hermits of *valkala*. The Alekh sect in Orissa even recently using the bark of Kumbhi tree. The method of extracting the fibre from certain plants, *wauke*, *mamake*, *maaloa* and *poulu* is mentioned by Malo thus: "It was man's work to cut down the branches after which the women peeled off the bark and having removed the cortex put the inner bark to soak until it had become soft" (p. 73). The oily juice of the fully ripe cocoanut meat with turmeric and juice of a fragrant mountain vine were used to impart an agreeable odor to the tapa loin cloth or malo of an alii. The commentator of Kātyāna Śrauta Sutra (XV. 5, 7 et seq) and Satapatha Brāhmaṇ (V. 3, 5, 20)

suggest that it was thrice soaked (in ghee ?) and made of linen or a flax-like substance. The extraction of Rhea fibre barks in Upper Assam is almost the same separating the bark and soaking in water afterwards.

The waist to knee skirt is the common dress for women in Hawaii and present in Samoa for men and present in Tahiti, Austral and Rapa for men and women. This style of dress would be continuous from East India to the Pacific as is evident from the bas-reliefs in Bharhut and Sanchi and the modern dress in Southern India and Chhōṭā Nāgpur and Assam and Burma and reminds us of the kilt in the Highlands. The Hawaiian name is *Malo*; and *malla* and *kaccha* are familiar in Bengal and known in old Pali literature. The superfluous cloth in the front evidently is a style which could have come only from cotton area and weaving of longer cloths while bark or fibre cloth would require just sufficient wrap round the waist tied with a belt which as in Chhōṭā Nāgpur or Assam area is always more useful as carrying all the weapons and ornaments. The shawl or overdress was of feather in Hawaii and of pseudo-woven fabric in New Zealand from their flax was of *tapa* in Rapa and of matting in Taumotus. This is different from Tiputo. This upper garment again is familiar in Eastern India. *Bārasi* is found in the *Kathaka Samhita* (XV. 4) and the *Panchavims'a Brāhmaṇa* (XVIII 9 16) a garment which the commentator of the latter

place explains as made of bark. In the *Rigveda* (X. 136, 2) *Mala* used of the garments of the Munis is explained as leathern garments or merely soiled garments by Ludwig and Zimmer but from the survival of the word *Malla* or *mala* in Bengali we may think from the light from Polynesia to mean a knee-skirt and *Malaga* not a washerman but a maker of such garments. Nivi (A. V. VII 2, 16; XIV, 2, 50) also refers to the garment reaching up to the waist, the Vedic *Vāsa* (R. V., I, 34, 1; 115, 4; 162, 16; VIII, 3; X. 26, 6 and 102, 2) being generally used for clothing whether woven or of sheep's wool (*urna*) or embroideaed (*Pesaa*) The upper garment called *Adhivāsa* had also the names *Atka* and *Draṇi* In the *Satapatha Brahmana*, V. 2, 1, 8. a garment of *Kusa* grass is mentioned as being worn by the wife of the sacrificer at the consecration and *Kausambha paridhana* is mentioned in *Sankhyayana Aranyaka* XI. 4. The fringe skirt or kilt of leaves or loose fibres, ornamented or otherwise, is found in New Zealand, Samoa, Rapa and Niue, and it was the dancing costume in Tahiti, Micronesia and Melanesia, Fiji and Hawaii. The turban of Indian style though in white *tapa* is known from Samoa and sandals made of *hibiscus* fibre or cane or *ti* leaf though not of boar skin as the Vedic *Upanah*-grass sandals being still known from various parts of India. There is a style of garment called *Poncho*, a sleeveless upper garment widely spread in Oceania and America. In its simplest form it is a rectangular piece doubled with hole, the sides being sometimes sewn. It is absent in Australia.

In Melanesia it is present in New Guinea, Solomons and Baining Islands. In Polynesia, in Samoa and Tahiti it is made of *tapa*, in Cook Islands it was restricted to clans though made of *tapa*, in Society Islands it was used for war. In Micronesia, a mat slit was used in Gilbert and Carolines. In Indonesia it is found in the Phillippines, Celebes and Borneo, generally made of two pieces of cotton sewed side by side. In the New World it was widespread and more perfected and probably spread in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is said by Kerr to be absent in Asia but it has been found in the Assam area worn by women for dancing and ceremonial. The women of Hawaii formerly used banana leaf in the same fashion.

*Tapa* was worked by stone with square or round beaters of wood with watermarks in Hawaii or Central Polynesia; in Marquesas, there were no watermarks, and flax had replaced *tapa* in New Zealand.

The custom of wearing flower garlands is a trait common to Polynesia and India. In Rigveda (IV. 38, 6 ; V. 33 ; VII, 47, 15 ; 56, 3) *Sraj* is mentioned as being worn by men when anxious to appear handsome as at a wedding. It also appears in AV. I, 14, I, meaning cluster of flowers from a tree and *Panchavims'a Brāhmaṇa* XVI' 4, I ; XVIII, 3, 2, ; 7, 6, ; *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* XIII. 5, 4, 2, etc. The Asvins are described as *Pushkara-sarj* or lotus-wreathed (R. V. X. 184, 3). The flowers were prized as in India for their smell rather than their colour. Feathers were much more used in



Hawaii in cloaks of kings. In India at one time feathers were more extensively used and peacock feathers still form an important item of head dress of chiefs and appear in the head ornament of the representation of the *churā* of Sri Krishna. In Assam we find that the large black and white feathers of the heron still are much prized by the Angami Nagas and tail feathers by the Garos. The blue and green feathers of a wood-pecker are used as ear-ornament by the Angamis.

Besides flowers the use of fragrant plants and creepers is a common item of Polynesian ornament. In the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* (II, 3, 10, 2) and *Apasthamba Śrauta Sutra* (XIV, 15, 2) we get the term *sthāgara* as an ornament made of a fragrant substance *sthāgara* and in the Atharva Veda we have *Śrāktya* referring to an amulet derived from the *Śrāktya* or *tilaka* tree (*Clerodendrum phlomooides*) (A. V. VIII, 5, 4, 7, 8, of II, 11). We read of *Kumba*, *Opasa* and *Kurira* as suggested by Geldner to be probably head-ornaments of horn in the Atharva Veda while pearl-shell amulets 'Sankha' also occur in Atharva Veda (IV, 10, 1).

The use of fly-flap like 'chāmar' as an insignia of rank and sacredness is common to both India and Polynesia and fans come in the same category. The royal umbrella is missed in Polynesia. Tattooing is not unknown in India but in Marquesas the men were completely tattooed and in New Zealand on face and thighs whereas in Hawaii and Central Polynesia the face was often left out. The items of disagreement in the Vedic era are that the ornaments were generally made of metal

such as *karnasobhana* (ear-ring), *khādi* (anklet), *tirita* (diadem), *niska* (necklace), *Nyocani* (marriage ornament) and *rukma* discs of gold though these were the places chosen for embellishment in Polynesian area either with braided human hair or breastplate of whale bone or human-headed breastplate of wood.

*Domesticated plants and animals:—*

Captain Cook who discovered the Pacific islands in his first voyage described the account given by Tupia the Tahitian about the domesticated plants and animals which are important as enabling us to distinguish from those of later introduction. "They have no European fruits, garden stuff or pulse nor grain of any species, but many valuable vegetable productions of their own. Their tame animals are hogs, dogs and poultry; there is not a wild animal in the island, except ducks, pigeons, parrouets and a few othor birds, rats being the only quadruped and there are no serpents. The sea however supplies them with excellent fish" (Cook's *First Voyage*—Everyman's Library p. 37). About the origin of these animals I would quote from Prof. Zeller about the domesticated dog of Europe. "I feel certain that the Spitz dog like the peat dog of the Lake Dwellers came from Western Asia. Even of more certain origin are the Bronze dogs whose little altered descendants greet us in the form of the Shepherd dog, both of which have sprung from the Indian wolf. It is easily demonstrated that the original home of the great dog is to be found in the highlands

of Tibet". About the pig from Europe he writes, "The investigations of Rutimeyer and Nathanius have proved that even in prehistoric times Asiatic blood reached Europe. The banded pig (*Sus vittatus*) distributed over South East Asia is the wild pig from which the domesticated Asiatic pig has been developed. The investigations of J. U. Duerst upon the bone remains from the old culture stratum of Anau have substantiated these opinions in every way. About the hen, he further writes— "Of our domesticated birds the hen as Darwin has pointed out is of South East Asiatic origin. In those regions alone combed chickens occur in a wild state. We can follow the route of the hen over Persia to Greece where it arrived in the middle of the first century B. C. The peacock also comes from Southern Asia" (*The Derivation of European Domestic Animals*, Prof. Dr. C. Keller, Zurich, Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report 1912 p. 486-488).

The dog and its domestication is the earliest and it has been found with man in Mesolithic times in Europe and it went with early man in the New World. In the Oceanian region it is remarkable that the same root with *ur* or *kur* or *gur* is used not only for dogs but all quadrupeds in Oceania as Rivet has shown. Friedrici remarks "Die Malayo-Polynesischen Sprachen bieten eine sehr grosse Zahl von Beispielen von uebertragung gleicher worte auf verschiedene Tiere" (G. Friedrici—Die Heimat der Kokospalme und die vorkolumbische Entdeckung Amerikas durch die Malaio-Polynesier,

Der Erdball, Berlin-Lichterfelde t. I, 1926 p. 74-77). The words in Bengali *Kukkra*, Munda *Kuttu*, Mon Khmer *Ketok* etc., Melanesian *Kede-wa*, Micronesian *Kiri*, and Polynesian *Kuri* (Paumotu, Mangareva, Rarotonga), *Kuli* (Tongan), *uli* (Samoa), *Uri* (Tahiti), *ilio* (Hawaii). The same word is found transferred to rat or pork or horse or even Kangaroo (See Rivet-Sumerienet Oceanien, P. 14).

The hog and the hen are more important as they evidently belong to an important culture drift and are objects prized as food and used in ritual from East India to the Pacific. Rivet's list gives terms connected with *sah*, *suyar* (Beng.) *Sukri*, (Munda) but the Polynesian words are all *Puaa* (Samoa, Tahiti? Hawaii, Marquesas), Mangarevan and Rarotongan forms are *puaka* whereas the Tongan form is *buaka*, Matalewa *Boale* and Duke of York Boro comparing with the Indian term *Basaha*.

The term for the domestic fowl is uniform in the Polynesian region—*Moa* (Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, Mangaia, Marquesas Paumotu, Hawaii) and was applied to the extinct bird in New Zealand. Its centre of domestication has been somewhere in Burma or Assam and it forms an important article. *Mayūra* occurs in *Rig Veda* describing Indra's horses *mayūre-roman* (having hair like peacock's feathers,) *mayūre sepye* (with tails like those of peacocks.) It occurs in the list of victims at the *Aswamedha* sacrifice in *Yajurveda Samhita* (*Maitreyani* III, 14, 4, *Vājasaneyi* XXIV, 23, 32).

See also p. 131 *Pre Aryan and Pre Dravidian*, —

Sanvali—*marak*

Sabara—*mara*

Cam—*amrak*

Malay—*mera*

Eran—*brak*

Stieng—*brak*

Mon—*mrā*.

Malo writes: "The food staple most desired in Hawaii *nei* was the *taro* (*Kalo-Arum esculentum*) When beaten into *poi*, or made up into bundles of hard *poi* called *pai-ai*, *omao* or *holoai* it is a delicious food. *Taro* is raised by planting the stems. The young and tender leaves are cooked and eaten as greens called *lu-au*, likewise the stems under the name of *haha*. *Poi* is such an agreeable food that *taro* is in great demand" (p. 67). *Taro* is wild over the greater part of tropical India and according to De Candolle, "There seems little doubt that the Egyptian cultivated *Colocasias* came from India, although it is probable that the cultivation of these plants commenced in more centres than one, that too independently of each other, such as India, Malay Peninsula, Japan and Fiji islands." The Malay names *Kellady tallus* perhaps was the origin of the well-known name of the Otahitans and New Zealanders, *tallo* or *taro*, *dalo* of the Fiji islanders. Rivers in an exhaustive paper on the irrigation and cultivation of *Taro* (*Psychology and Ethnology*, 1926, pp. 262-287) shows the wide distribution of the plant and the diffusion of its cultivation

process very likely from India. "Botanists are agreed that the original home of the plant is Southern Asia, probably India, and the great variety of the native names for the plant in India shows that its importance in this country goes back to a remote date. If India is the original home of *taro*, its economic utility would have been acquired (by the megalithic people) and, together with the plant itself, taken thence to Egypt (where according to Reinhardt it was known as early as 500 B. C.), Arabia and eastern Mediterranean. (Ibid p. 273.) The names in Polynesia are Samoa and Tonga (Talo), Fiji (dalo), Tahiti (Taro) and Hawaii (kalo). In India the names in Bengali are *Kachu*, in Uriya *Saru*, *Alu* (mar.), *arui* (Hind.), *champa kura* (Tel.), *kaladi* (Mal.), etc. (Vide Wyatt's *Dictionary of Economic Products*, Vol. II. p. 509).

Wild bananas of the Pacific that are found in New Caledonia, Fiji, Samoa, Rarotonga, and Tahiti, grow wild in the interior and are occasionally cultivated. The banana and the plantain (*Musa sapientum*, *Musa paradisiaca*) are both varieties of one species found wild in the hilly districts of East Bengal according to Roxburgh. In the miscellaneous series of the publications of the Royal Botanic Gardens—*Selected papers from the Kew Bulletin II*—(Principal varieties of *Musa*, London 1906) we read, "There is no circumstance in the structure of any of the states of the banana or plantain cultivated in India to prevent their being considered as being merely varieties of one and the same species,



namely, *Musa sapientum*; that their reduction to a single species is even confirmed by the multitude of varieties that exist; by nearly the whole of these varieties being destitute of seeds; and the existence of a plant indigenous to the continent of India producing perfect seeds; from which, therefore all of them may be supposed to have sprung. The Peruvians had two cultivated varieties of the banana which plant was unknown in the West Indies and Putland suggested that the Polynesians introduced the banana to America".

The bread-fruit had its original habitat in Malay Archipelago, Java, Amboina, and the neighbouring islands. The cultivated varieties according to Rutland do no longer bear seed and have to be propagated by suckers and eastwards of Fiji only the cultivated or seedless varieties are found. (*Traces of Civilization* by J. Rutland *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, 29, 1896. See also Guppy, H. B, *Observations of a Naturalist in the Pacific between 1896 and 1899*, Vol. II, Plant Dispersal. London, 1906). A case of associated word is that of plantain as of hog and dog. Przyluski in his study of *Kadali* (Sanskrit) shows its wide distribution as *kelui* or *telui* in the Malay peninsula which they connect with *Kandali* or *tendali* and the root is determined as *Kali* or *tali*. Wyatt gives as Sing. names of the taro *gahala*, *tadala*, *babala*, and the young cultivated tubers are given as named *kandalla* or *tadalla*. Przyluski explains one of the eight syrups allowed by Buddha to his monks as *Cocapana*.

He says that according to the commentary of the *Mahavagga cocapana* would be plantain *syru* it would be a kind of *kadali*. Yi-tsing in *Ekacasa karman* VI explains *coca* as *tandali* both the words *coca* or *tandali* as we have seen could be *taro* and thus the same word was being applied for banana. In Hawaii the word for banana is *mili*. This calls to mind another set of words of which the Bengali *mocha* may be a survival.

The other fruits are the bread fruit, a variety which is said to have originated in Java which appears as a round jack-fruit. is called *ulu* like the sweet potato which is called *u-ala* and the yam which is called *uhi* in Hawaii—a thing that recalls the varieties of *Ol* familiar to us which would be the same as dry *taro* and *panasa* or its local name *hathalu* may be mere wood-taro., The word for sweet potato is *Kumara* in Maori, *Gomar* in Peru, a thing that has given rise to considerable speculation as to the culture contact between Oceania and Polynesia. The word is the same for our sweet pumpkin—*kumara*.

The name for cocoanut is *Niue* and and here also the arguments in favour of an American as well as those of an Asiatic origin for this tree has been discused by De Candolle who concludes that it probably belongs to the Indian Archipelago. If so, its introduction to Ceylon, India and China does not date further back than 3000 years but the transport by sea to coasts of America and Africa took place perhaps in a more remote epoch (Watt, Vol. II p. 411).

(To be continued).

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### III. PORAJAS.

By G. RAMADAS, B. A., M. R. A. S., M. A. O. S.

The name of the tribe seems to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word "Prajā" which means people. They had their original language which they have given up for a more civilized one. Yet the relics of that forgotten language can be picked up from the homely talk or the songs of the people—Puttrā (a stream), Kanda (a child), Sala (region) as in Kū-sala, the place around the well, are some of such words; 'Pa' is pronounced as 'ha'. Then there is a vast difference in intonation of pronouncing the Oriya words.

The Porajas seem to have been inhabiting this country from about the 2nd Century of the Christian Era, if not before. The words 'Kanda, Sala' occur in the inscriptions of Amaravati dated about the 2nd Century A. D. In an inscription which on palaeographical evidence can be assigned to the 9th Century A. D. the region of Nandapur State of the 14th Century A. D. is said to have been located in Gōnd-maṇḍala, the province of the Gōnds. A king of the Kalachuri family (Central India) bought a piece of land from a Poraja at Borigumma and gave it to the god Bhairava at that place (Inscription in the temple of Dantēswari at Dantawāra, Bastar State). *Gāṅgavam-s'ānucharitam* a sanskrit poem, a Ms. of which exists in the Oriental Library at Madras, was written during the 17th Century A. D. It says that a prince of the Gangā family of Orissa, came

southwards and established a throne at Gudari near Gunupur. This prince is said to have had an army of hill tribes. These evidences prove that the real sons of the soil were the Porajas and other hill tribes and the rulers were immigrants. Along with them they brought some from their Oṛyā country, their native home, and gave them holdings of land free of rent in some cases but mostly on feudal tenure. The Oṛiyās having become the lords of the land, the sons of the soil had to seek service under them, surrendering every thing of their own to their masters; language is one of those that has vanished under the domination of the Oṛiyās. In spite of such sacrifice, the Poraja did not improve but was reduced to slavery. The usurer drove him from his homestead and occupied it. The man lost his independence, but the usurping ruler kept on the conditions of the original contact between him and the original inhabitants to observe the religious rites and festivities of the sons of the soil. The Mārjā sacrifice appears deprived of all its cruelties in the Dasarā rites; the festivities to propitiate the earth Goddess (the Jāker) takes the form of Bali Jatra celebrated in the lunar month of Bhādrapada (August-September); the Chaitra Parbham or the tribal hunt is only a form of the vernal festival of the aboriginal tribes.

— The servitude into which the Poraja has been reduced and the cruel treatment given to him by his master made him faithless and dishonest. But the advent of better civilization under the fostering care of the British has opened for them several

avenues for happy and independent life. Improvement in domestic life, food and dress is making itself visible in the Poraja. He has now found means to earn his livelihood without selling himself into 'gorti' service or serfdom.

The Porajas are divided into twelve tribes and each tribe is called after the region in which that tribe lives. But generally they are divided into the Bodo Poraja or Soḍia, the Sano Poraja, the Joḍia Poraja and Perang Poraja.

The first class do not eat the flesh of the cow or the ox. The Sano Poraja eats beef; the third class or the Joḍia eats beef but man ties his turban with crossing belts in front and a big lump behind. The Perang Poraja eats beef but the women wear only brass ornaments and also a peculiar ornament which sits astride on the saddle of the nose and projects upwards to the middle of the two brows.

*Dress and general demeanour* :— The man wears two cloths, one round the loins and the other for the head. He trims his hair into any form he likes but does not adopt any one form always. A young man wears one or two metal rings on his left wrist and some garlands of coloured beads round his neck. But it is the woman that presents the dress and ornamentation typical to the tribe.

The Boda Poraja women combs her hairs with a parting in the middle on the top of the head. All the hair is collected behind and is put into a knot in which the hair radiate out from a central depression. She does not use hair pins like the women of the lower class. Garlands of beads of various colours adorn the neck from the nape

to the clavicles and thence hang down to the pit of the stomach. Over these are worn one or two round metal rings. The lobes of the ears are bored and in each is worn a coil of metallic serpents. The outer wall of the ear also is bored in several places and a thin small ring is passed through each hole. To one or two of the topmost rings of the left ears pendants of small chains are worn. On the left lower arm the women of this class wear brass rings and they extend from the wrist to the elbow; but on the right lower arm few or none of such rings are seen. Each finger is provided with a ring topped with a coin or a round flat piece of metal. On the ankles are worn 'U'-shaped hollow anklets in which jingle small round pieces of stone or metal. Each toe is adorned with a ring shaped in such a form as to suit the particular toe for which it is intended.

Any cloth of any colour is worn but the white cloth provided with red hems is the one peculiar to all the classes of the Porajas. It is folded lengthwise so that the two hems might form one broad band. The red band is hung down and the cloth is worn. The lower end does not descend below the middle of the thighs; the apron part of the cloth goes from below the right arm across the trunk to over the left shoulder where the one in front and the one from the back are united in a knot. The rest of the cloth is wound in several coils round the waist, always taking care to have the red hems come one above the other.

*Sano Poraja*:— The women of this class wear ornaments and dress similar to those of the first



class, but in dressing the hair and in some ornaments they exhibit the peculiarities of their class. These women comb the hair with a parting in the middle and collect all the hair behind and thrust it into a loose knot from below; this knot hangs down below the nape of the neck. One or two hair-pins with broad outer ends are put into the knot to keep it intact. Some women wear a ribbon-like garland of fine beads round the head. Round the neck the ornamentation is similar to those of the first class. The rings adorning the left lower arm are of white metal. The anklets of this class are different from those of the first class.

The cloth is worn so as to hang down to the knees. In other respects it is worn as the women of the first class do.

*Jodia Poraja* :— This class of men and women differ very little from the Sāno Poraja class. They also eat beef and dress themselves like those of the preceding class. The distinction between the two classes is not so very marked. The woman of this class in addition to the metallic wrist rings on the left lower arm, wears on each upper arm a bracelet about three inches in breadth.

*The Pēraṅg Poraja* :— This is the fourth class and they eat beef. The women of this class wear all ornaments made of brass. Garlands of small brass beads are worn round the neck and brass rings on the lower arms. The peculiar ornament that distinguishes this class from others is a triangular-shaped brass wire which sits astride on the saddle of the nose; its apex projecting upwards to the middle of the two brows.

The Bonda Porajas are counted as the fifth class of Porajas but their habits and dress show that they are quite distinct from the Porajas. They appear to be more akin to the Mariahs of Bastar State.

*Village Life*.—Every village is enclosed with a living fence in which a gap is left to serve as an entrance into the village. Houses are built in two or more rows leaving a broad space in between. Each house is divided into a storeroom, a kitchen and the sleeping apartment, a cowshed and a drinking space also form part of some houses. All these are built separately and they are enclosed by a wall or fence all round. In one place of the wall is left a gateway.

Two houses are built separately one for the grown up maidens of the village to sleep and the other for the unmarried young men. The maidens are responsible for keeping their sleeping house neat and tidy and they are under the control of a head, who is also a maiden and who attains that position by the common consent of them all. Similarly the young men are responsible for keeping their sleeping apartment tidy and are under the control of a head youngman. After nightfall none of the maidens should lurk out; nor is any youngman permitted to do so. Yet both maidens and youngmen carry on their flirtations which generally culminate in matrimonial ties.

The villagers are under the control of a headman who is nominated by all the villagers and approved by the Zamindar. At times, the head-

man may be appointed by the Zamindar himself and the villagers have to accept him. Yet, behind such appointment can be seen the common consent of the people. In the middle of the village is planted a banian (*Ficus Indica*), or *ficus religiosa* or a mango tree under which and round the foot of the trunk a platform surmounted with stone slabs is raised. This serves as a seat for the headman when he sits in court to hear and decide the village disputes. Whenever a dispute arises in the village, he summons all the villagers and they come and sit, each on a stone lying scattered under the tree or squats on the ground. Women also attend the assembly but they remain standing. When all men are assembled, the headman takes his seat on the platform and the question is discussed. The decision of the assembly must be accepted by all.

*Marriage*:— Generally a young man selects the woman he likes to marry and informs of it to his parents who carry on the negotiations with the parents of the selected maiden. If the maiden's parents do not approve of it, the match fails. But if they consent, the bride's money is settled and the marriage day is fixed. A day previous to the appointed date, the bridegroom lurks, along with some of his friends, in a place by the side of which the maiden is expected to pass alone. He then pounces on her and with the help of his friends carries her away to his home. But the maid's parents hearing of it goes with his friends to her relief. A small mock fight ensues between the two parties and when every one is exhausted, they all

go to the bridegroom's house where they are served with food and drink.

Amongst the Porajahs, there are many Gotras or totems. Bāg (tiger) Nāg (serpent); Phulu (flower); Gōru (cow); Matso (fish). The Poraja does not kill or eat the thing that is the emblem of his totem. The Poraja of the Phulu totem does not wear flowers; one of the fish totem does not eat fish. A young man of a *gotra* shall not marry a young woman of the same sept. A young man and a maiden of different septs may marry. Marriage is also prohibited amongst the children of a brother and a sister and of a brother and a brother. Widow marriages are allowed. It is compulsory for a widow to marry her late husband's younger brother. If she does not like to do so, the man who chooses to marry her must pay to that younger brother such amount as is fixed by the villagers. Divorces also are permitted; *if the woman does not like the man, she will pay him five rupees and go away from him*; but if the man does not like his wife, he pays her one rupee and leaves her. If the woman goes to another man while living with one man, the new one shall have to pay her former husband a sum of money fixed by the elders of the village. The children, if she has any, are taken away by the man to whom she begot them.

*Implements* :— Among household implements are the grinder, and the pounder which consists of a mortar (a hollow made in a stone) which is fixed in the ground in-front of the house. The pestle is in the form of

an Indian club, inverted. A woman sits near the mortar, stretching one leg on either side and holding the pestle near the narrow end, pounds rice or *ragi* or any other grain. The narrow end or the pestle is provided with an iron ring so that the wood might not wear away.

The grinder consists of two round stone slabs, in the centre of the lower one is driven a wooden peg which fits loosely into a hole in the centre of the upper one. The handle is used to turn the upper slab. Grain is put in handfuls through the central hole in the upper stone and it is turned round and round.

Almost the only agricultural implement in general use is the hoe, square in shape and provided with a long handle that the man might dig the earth while standing. A Poraja who can afford to do so may have a plough. *Tungi* or a hand hatchet is an implement which the Poraja uses for cutting wood, for shaping the plough, and to make his household implements. It is also used as a weapon of offence and defence. Wherever he goes and he carries it on his left shoulder and entirely depends on it for his safety. He defies even a tiger with it.

*Death Ceremonies* :— When a man or a woman dies in a family, the corpse is taken to a place outside the village. All men and women follow the corpse to the disposing ground. The corpse is either burnt or buried according to the convenience of the season. Then all of them bathe in an adjoining river or pond and take along with them a flat long stone to their village and set it

upright just outside the village and place another slab flat at its foot. A small rag is tied round the middle of the upright stone and a bamboo top with its split and formed into the form of a trident, is placed upright behind the vertical stone. Every day or whenever the departed soul is propitiated, offerings of food and fowl are made on the flat stone at the foot of the vertical one. Generally the offerings are given on the third and the tenth days.

On the tenth day, after night-fall, food and other offerings are prepared and a man carries them to a place half way to the cremation or burial ground. He places them there and calls on the soul of the dead man by name. Then one of those that carried the corpse on the first day, is possessed by that soul and he issues out of darkness striking his Tangi on a hoe. Every time the departed soul is called upon, the man possessed responds with a groan. Thus he is led to the house where the death had occurred. In the house geometrical figures with flour are made and three grains are placed in the middle of those drawings and are covered over with a pot. The drawings are of three kinds :— one of Yama, one of Satrun and one of the devil. The possessed man enters the house and kicks away the pot and discovers the grains. If they are found on the drawings of Yama, it is understood that the soul was taken by Yama or the god of death ; if the seeds are discovered on the S'ani (Satrun) Drawings the soul was taken away by S'ani. It is belived that the soul becomes a



devil, if the seeds are found on the devil drawings. Thus the funerals terminate.

*Gods and Festivals:* At the entrance of the village, under a tree is kept the god called the Nis'an-dēvata. It is a small oval stone installed on an auspicious day even before the village is formed. Over it stones are piled up in the form of a temple. It is believed that this Nis'an-dēvata protects the village from epidemics, wild animals or other dangers.

In the middle of the village under a shed is kept the god called Thākuraṇī, of course a female. This is represented by some wooden images. Near the foot of the hill,—the Porajas generally live close to the hills,—is installed the god called Jākar-dēvata. This is also a female. She is the protectress of the crops.

In addition to these, the tiger goddess is propitiated by offering sacrifices to her in the mountain caves. All the villagers, during the dry season go to the cave, prepare food and kill a goat or a buffalo and offer them all to the tiger goddess and then they all drink liquor and dance to the accompaniment of drums till night fall and return to the village. By this feast, it is believed that tigers do not molest the villagers during that year.

The Porajas hold feasts to propitiate all these gods. In the month of Chaitra they hold the hunting feast and all the villagers, men alone, retire into the forest for a hunt. None of the party should return until they bag an animal.

The women in the village, decorate themselves in their finest attire and spend time in dance and play. Young maidens are wooed at this time and the selection of brides also is made now. When it is reported that an animal is bagged, the women of the village proceed to the edge of the forest and await the arrival of the men. The carcass, decorated with garlands of flowers and peacock feathers, is carried over the shoulders of men; and the women sing and dance in front of the carcass to the beating drums and the piping of the Indian flute. Thus the procession goes to the village where the carcass is flayed and quartered, if it be an eatable one. The flesh is divided amongst all the villagers.

*The Nua-khya*:— This is eating the new rice. This takes place in the month of 'Bonda-pāni' i. e., Śrāvaṇam of the Indian calendar which corresponds to July-August. The leaves of the growing paddy plant and its roots are cooked together and offered to all the gods and is enjoyed along with other dishes and liquor.

*The Pās festival*:— This is held on the full moon day of the month of Pūṣya (December and January). They sacrifice a buffalo in the name of all village gods and enjoy dinner and drink and dance the whole day. This is all on the day next to the fullmoon. On the full-moon night young damsels go singing from house to house and receive doles of rice at every door. The rice thus collected is all cooked on the fire lit in the middle of the village in the early dawn of the day.

After sun-rise they all bathe, wear new clothes and enjoy the dinner.

These are the most important of the festivals observed by the Poraja tribes. Other festivals are also observed but they are not tribal. Each family has its own traditional feasts which are restricted to only the members of the family. Their association with the civilized Oṛiyās has taught them some of the feasts observed by their masters. The ear festival (June and July) is one of such festivals that have been adopted by the Porajas. On the very day of the Hindu Car-festival the Porajas make a small handy car and place it before their god, kill a fowl and a pigeon to that god and then present the car to it. The arrangement of these festivals and the fixing of these festive days is generally the duty of the Disāri, the village priest.

*Witch-Craft and Sorcery*:— The Disāri or the village priest knows astronomy, medicine, witchery and sorcery. Whenever a man or a woman or a child falls ill, the Poraja consults his village disāri. At first he gives some herbs but if the illness is not cured, he comes to the house of the patient and then sits in a room alone. In course of a few minutes he falls senseless and remains in trance for some time. When incense is burnt before him, he sits up and speaks as if possessed. In that unconscious state he gives out the cause of illness and ascribes it to the existence of bones in a corner of the house, or to the failure to propitiate a certain god or to some devil or to some sorcery of an enemy of the patient or his

parents. He proposes to remove the cause on some future day and directs the master of the family to keep ready for that day, a fowl being one of those prescribed. On the appointed day, the Disari again goes to the patient's house and, while burning incense, he recites some prayers. The voice and intonation are peculiarly suited to the occasion. Then, after some time, if the ascribed cause be the presence of bones under the floor of the house, he goes to that corner and digs out the bones and presents them to all. If the illness be due to a devil, he ties round the neck of the patient, a talisman; if it be due to sorcery, he puts some food, red and yellow cooked rice, in a bamboo dish and in the middle a light is also placed and the whole thing is taken out of the house and left where two roads cross. This is all with regard to his ability to cure diseases.

He is also capable of doing evil to others either of his own accord or at the instigation of others. He goes to a certain plant which grows into a small shrub and binds all its branches together; then holding the whole shrub in his hands he mutters a prayer to the effect that a particular man should fall ill. He then bends the shrub to a side and places a stone over it. The man falls ill; if the stone is removed and the branches are freed the person gets better. If the sorcerer wishes to extinguish life in his enemy, he has to root out the shrub and fling it away. As it dries and decays, the person also dies gradually.

A man is made to bloat by means of a frog

as follows : A big frog is caught in a brook and its entrails are removed. Some cooked food is put into its stomach and the whole is sewn up in a cloth and buried in a place where two roads cross. Then the person in whose name it is done, will have swelling of the body. If the buried thing is removed and thrown away, he gets back his health. If the sorcerer wishes that he should die, the buried thing is allowed to decay in its place. Thus many kinds of sorcery are practised and the Poraja believes in them all. The most efficacious of them is the 'little finger sorcery'.

When a still-born child is buried, the sorcerer goes to the grave in the dead of night and takes out the body. Instilling life into it, he asks it to give its little finger of the right hand. The child speaks and permits the sorcerer to cut it. Having cut it, he removes the life of the child and buries it again. This little finger he secures, and with it accomplishes several things. He sends it to any place he likes and gets through it any thing he wishes to possess. He can kill a man or cure a patient with it. Every man in the village and also every man in the surrounding villages is awfully afraid of a sorcerer possessing such a finger.

The Disāri knows the names of the constellations and of the planets. He makes calculations and foretells evil or good. The month is lunar and all festivals are fixed within five days either before or after the full moon. The auspicious day for performing marriage is fixed by

the Disāri. He performs marriages and ties the nuptial knot. In all village assemblies his presence is required and his advice on every tribal question is solicited.

*Colour etc., :—* The complexion of the Poraja is rather copper coloured. Yet, very dark persons are rarely met with amongst them. The woman, more than the man, is careful of her toilet and keeps herself neat and tidy. She bathes every day and washes her clothes and her husband's every eight days. The hair of the Poraja is generally straight but persons with wavy or curling hair are not wanting; and the hair is of black colour when oiled and combed. If not properly oiled and combed it looks dirty. The eyes are straight and black in colour. The nose is broad at the nostrils and stunted at the saddle. It is short and blunt. The build of the body is muscular. The Poraja is of the average height, though short men also are seen amongst them

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#### IV. THE ORIGIN OF ORNAMENTS.

*(Being a study of Kerala Ornaments).*

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There is practically no section of human beings, that does not use one kind of ornament or other. Irrespective of caste, creed and nationality, men and women are everywhere alike in their love of wearing ornaments, and one general statement that may be enunciated is that love of ornament is practically ingrained in human beings. All do not, however, use the same kinds of ornaments everywhere; each section of people has got its own specific types of ornaments and its own mode and place of wearing them. This difference in age, sex and nationality of the wearer, the lapse of time, the march of civilisation and 'culture contact',—these also do account for considerable differences. Nowhere does the old order changes yielding place to the new, so quickly and considerably, as in the nature of ornaments. Consequently, the real *Prakriti* could ill be discerned in the apparent *Vikriti* that the world holds out in this field. This exceeding abundance of variety in the types of ornaments and the innate craving of human beings to adorn their body with ornaments invest the subject with a rare charm for even the casual student, while it has got its own intrinsic interest and importance to students of Anthropology. The late lamented Prof. Sir William Ridgeway, Disney Professor of Archaeology in the University of

Cambridge, was the first to introduce a scientific discipline into this subject, and his studies have led to the Ridgeway theory of ornaments, namely that ornaments owe their origin not to *Aesthetics* but to *Magic*. It may appear at first sight a startling theory, but none the less a systematic study of even our familiar ornaments will convince even a casual observer that the theory advanced by that distinguished scholar is but a statement of fact.

It deserves to be pointed out at the very outset that the subject of our study has its own attendant difficulties. Not the least of them is their everchanging fashions. As a matter of fact, they have been perpetually changing, sometimes as quickly as our fashions and tastes and sometimes as slowly as our likes and dislikes. Consequently, there is every scope for rash theorisings, unless great care and circumspection are exercised in selecting the data for study. To avoid the pitfalls, as far as possible, it is proposed in the course of this study to take into consideration only such ornaments as have some ritualistic bearing, because these are the least liable to change. This, then, is one restriction. Another is that the ornaments here considered are those used by the caste Hindus only—Namputiris, Ambalavasis and Nairs. The present study has therefore no pretence to be exhaustive.

#### A. General.

The Malayalis, unlike the Paradesis, do not wear ornaments on the crest of the head or in

the hair, on the upper portion of the ears, in the nose and, except in the case of children, round the waist and ankles. Generally, ornaments are worn only round the neck, in the lobes of the ear, and on the wrist.

Regarding the materials used, one convention taboos the use of precious stones and gold for ornaments below the waist, probably because no ornaments are to be used there. Among precious stones, the highest place is assigned to pearls, the other stones coming next in order, and gold still next. Another convention will have it that everybody must be wearing a bit of gold, for this is believed to possess physiological values. Silver is never used, unless it be that the person cannot afford to go in for gold. Copper by itself is not commonly used except as rings; even as such, it is used, because it is supposed to be capable of purifying the wearer. In combination with other metals, it is found used as an ornament by the high caste Namputiri ladies, for the bangles they wear must invariably be made of an alloy of this metal. Iron is also used, but not in any ritualistic connection. Iron rings, more or less like bangles, are fastened round the ankles of the new born baby; and ladies, during their monthly periods and during the period of their marriage ceremonies, and the man who conducts the funeral ceremonies of his departed relatives, are generally asked to have some iron with them. In these cases, they generally use a small ring or carry a knife. This use of iron is prescribed, because this metal is supposed to be

able to protect the bearer from being preyed upon by evil spirits. Besides precious stones and metals, roots, stalks, fruits, nuts and seeds of certain trees are also found in use. At least, there is one instance of such a thing worn even now, the seed of Elanni (Lat. *Mimusops Elanji*) which is supposed to be good enough to act as a charm. Nails, claws, teeth, and hair of animals are also found used, especially, the claws of the tiger, the teeth and tail hair of the elephant. Thus, precious stones, metals and their alloys and parts of trees and animals—supply the materials for ornaments.

Our ornaments may be broadly classed under the three heads *Motirams*, *Talis* and *Malas*. This classification holds good as regards the period when they are worn. Thus generally, *Motirams* are pre-puberty ornaments, while *Talis* and *Malas* are post-puberty ones. *Motiram* is now used in the sense of a *ring* for the finger. But, as in 'Palakka *Motiram*', the term is also found used in the general sense of an ornament. If, however, the term was originally used only in the sense of a ring, it might suggest that the ring was the first form of ornament, and this is to a certain extent borne out by the fact that a ring, tied round by means of a thread, is a favourite ornament for children of the higher caste Hindus. But it appears to have been used also in the general sense of ornament. It is, however, significant that '*Motirams*' were originally made of *Kaya* or *Tandu*, i. e., seed or stalk of trees, and *Nakha*, i. e., nails and claws of animals; for ins-

tance, *Palakka* (ya) Motiram-ornament of the *Kaya* of the Pala tree (Lat: *Echites Scholaris*); Puli-nakha Motiram the ornament of the claws of the tiger.

*Talis*, from what can now be gathered, have probably nothing to do with seeds or claws. The term itself, as well as the shape and the form, suggest that these may have been modelled upon flowers, like the *Puttali* appearing like a full blown lotus, or Kannadi Bimbam i. e., the conventional representation of the Goddess, like the marriage symbol of Tali or the hood of the serpent, like the Nagapata Tali. Malas are found made after the shape of cut diamond cubes or coins of, for instance, Vairamani Mala and Pana Mala. If one may argue from this, it may not be far-fetched to find in these ornaments the traces of tree worship, animal worship and idol worship. These may, therefore, have originated not from aesthetics but from magic.

There is another neck ornament which is neither a 'Motiram' nor a Tali, the ornament called Yentramkulal. The name is significant of its origin from magic; for the professors of black art generally administer the wearing of a *Yentram*, carrying a copper leaf impressed with some mystic symbols, to protect the wearer from being a prey to the devil's influence. This ornament is not now worn, being put down as antique and out of date.

A word deserves to be said about the peculiar kind of *Tali*, named *Kasali*. It is a neck ornament, made by stringing together not less than ten coin-like gold pieces impressed with

figures, each representing one of the ten incarnations. This is supposed to be a very benign ornament, beneficial in every way, is held in great respect and constantly used by Namputiri ladies. The term *Kasu* is generally used in the sense of a coin, and in this sense it is used even now; for example, *Vilkassu*, the gold franc piece, *Kassu* the copper coin worth a pie. From this usage, one is tempted to believe that the first coin current carried the figures representing gods or goddesses. That, at one time, coins carried such figures is to a certain extent borne out by the *Lakshmi-Puttan* a silver coin worth ten or twenty pies. At another time, they were impressed with the emblems distinctive of a god or goddess, the patron deity of the family. At another time, the figure impressed represented the chief's Coat of Arms. From this line of argument, one may hold that the course of development may have been as follows:—from divine figures to symbols or weapons characteristic of the patron God, then to the family Coat of Arms and then lastly to the representation of the King's Head. This latter may have been introduced by the foreigners. This appears to be then a tempting line of work, to trace the development of coins.

#### B. Pre-Puberty Ornaments.

Under this head are included the ornaments used in babyhood and boyhood or girlhood.

The first ceremony after the birth of a baby



which calls forth the use of ornaments is the "*Chorunnu*", i. e., the rice-giving ritual. This is celebrated during or after the child's sixth month. The following are the ornaments generally used: (1) a common gold ring tied round the neck by means of a thread for boys; for girls, preferably the *Chorunnu Tali*, (2) *Vala*, a pair of ordinary bangles for the wrist and *Tala*, a pair for the ankles, (3) *Pulia-Motiram*, or more correctly, *Pulinakkah Motiram* i. e., tiger claw ornament, for the neck. Originally, actual tigers' claws were used, and specimens are reported to be available in old aristocratic families. Now-a-days, the ornament is made of that shape, either of pure gold, or of gold set with coloured glass pieces. In the centre of the string is kept a bigger circular piece called a *Talla*, literally *mother-piece*, which is probably made by putting two claws together face to face. On either side of this, are generally arranged twenty-one of these claws, each one separated from the other by means of *mani*, bead, placed between the claws. This ornament is generally worn only by males, and it is used all through boyhood. The name, the shape and its restricted use for males may be taken as suggestive of a hunter's life. Thus, it might originally have been the trophy won by the family bread-winner during his hunting excursions and hung round the child's neck, probably to instill in him even in his boyhood the sense of heroism and thus prepare him for the active valiant life in store for him. Again, the wearing of tiger's claws or teeth is prescribed as a cure for nightmare, bad dreams, etc.

Palaka (ya) Motiram, i. e., the ornament made of the *Kaya*, i. e., the seed of the juicy *Pala tree*, is the corresponding ornament for the females, and as before, this is used till she reaches maidenhood. This tree is a special favourite of the *Bhagavati* and is invariably found planted in *Kavus* i. e., the precincts of a *Bhadrakali* shrine. The goddess in the *Kavu* is generally looked upon as the patron deity and the guardian angel of the whole neighbourhood. That this ornament is made after the shape of the *Pala tree* so dear to the goddess, that it is worn only by the girls, clearly suggests that this must have had its origin not in aesthetics. It may have been worn to secure the benign influence of the goddess and thus ward off that of the bad invisible powers. It is not known if the *Palakaya* has ever been used by itself; there is, however, reason to believe, that this must have been, because the *Rudraksha* bead and the *Elanji* seed are found used, as they are even now. The arrangement of the *Kayas* in the ornament is the same as in *Puliyamotiram* already referred to.

Still another neck ornament for the girls, popular even now, is what is called *Kulalu Motiram* with a *Talla* in the centre and with a number of *Kulals* on either side with beads between. The origin of this is not quite clear. Probably, this might have been modelled on stalks, as the former one was modelled on seeds.

Two kinds of ornaments are found used for the waist. (a) *Kingani* or the jingling ornament. A number of small flat bells are strung together on a thread, with a few round bells here and

there; when they move about the ornament makes a jingling sound. Two types of ornaments are found, one having both sides convex, while in the other, one of the sides is kept even without any pretence to convexity. The former is generally the boys' ornament; if at all the girl wears it, it is only the second type; and in wearing it the plane side is shown out. It is significant that the flat bells of the Kingini look exactly like the bells on the waist belt worn by the *Komaram* or *Veliccapadu*, who is looked upon as the earthly representative of the goddess enshrined in a *Kavu*. The jingling metal sounds are again believed to be capable of keeping off evil spirits. Putting these ideas together, it is not far fetched to trace its origin to magic. (b) *Parannelassu* (flat *Elassu*) :— Small types of these are found strung together, and it is found used both by girls and boys who, in some cases, use *Urunda* (round) *Elassu*. A slightly bigger one is also found used by grown up ladies as a neck ornament and by men as a waist ornament, though this use is practically disappearing. The origin of this may definitely be traced to magic. For, this looks exactly like the *Yentrams* prepared by the black art priests. Secondly, in this is found enclosed a gold or copper leaf incised with mystic symbols, to wean the protector from the influence of evil spirits. The shape of the ornament when its use is prescribed by the magician, changes in the case of boys. (c) *Ellumkayellasu*.—These are more commonly worn by *Namputiri* boys and are found made of silver.

When the baby grows up into a boy or girl, it has its ears bored. The boy wears an ear ornament, the original type of which is now found used only by Nairs. It is reported that originally it carried a pearl in the centre. But later, probably because pearls became rare and costlier, it used to be represented only in shape by a bulging in the centre. Ambalavasis are not found using this ornament; and if one tradition is to be believed, the use of ear-rings is tabooed by orthodox people. As a grown-up boy, he seldom uses any other ornament, excepting probably a Rudraksha bead, as it is, or encased in gold, or a gold specimen made apparently after its shape, hung round the neck by a cotton or gold thread. In the case of girls, they wear wooden pieces of varying sizes to lengthen the lobes of the ears. When the aperture is of the required size, they replace them by wooden circular discs or gold ones, with a groove running all round the circumference. These are called *Totas*. The meaning of the term is not quite clear. There is a word *Totu* in Malayalam, meaning groove. If the word may be traced to this, it may mean grooved ornaments, this being the only ornament having a groove. These wooden *Totas* are also found adorned by paints. In later days, the wooden ones were replaced by golden ones. These are also of the same shape, only the paints are replaced by gravings. Some of these are also found fitted with gems. But they are evidently latter day developments from their original wooden models. In the case of the caste Hindus,

excepting Nambutiri ladies, they have to wear this wooden disc till their marriage day, when it is replaced by a gold ornament, the details of which are set forth under the head marriage ornament.

During the pre-puberty period, the girls are found to use two more types of neck ornaments. Of these *Cilakka Motiram*, more correctly *Cilakkaya-Motiram*, Lit: ornament of *Cilakkaya* is used so long as she remains unmarried. I have not been able to identify the seed, after the shape of which the ornament is made. The second, or "*Tandummotiram*" is found used even after marriage, till the waning of youth. This may have been modelled upon stalks, which, indeed cannot now be identified. It is worth while to point out here, that though they must originally have been shaped after a seed or a stalk, these have, at least as they are now found used, a serpent hood end. Can this be taken as suggesting their relationship to the long lost race of the Nagas? The subject deserves to be worked up in greater detail.

#### B. *Marriage and Post-puberty Ornaments.*

Amongst the most important are the *Talis*, i. e., the marriage symbol, the neck, the ear, and the wrist ornaments.

##### 1. *Talis.*

The Tali, the visible symbol of marriage, which a lady always wears, so long as her husband is alive, appears more or less alike in its general shape, so far as caste Hindus are concerned. So

far as one can now judge, this may have been modelled upon what is commonly called *Kannati Bimbam*, the *mirror idol*, which is a particular form of idol representing a goddess. One set of people alone have got a radically different type of Tali, I mean that particular section of Ambalavasis known as Wariers. The origin of this cannot now be found out; but it is possible that it is shaped after the Rudraksha bead.

Amongst Namputiris, two kinds of Talis are found used, each variety being used by the two different sections amongst them, known as *Adhyans* and *Hasyans*. The difference lies not so much in the shape as in the mode of wearing. For, while the *Adhyans* show the convex face outside, the *Hasyans* show the concave face. Unlike other Hindus here they wear a pair of Talis with an inter bead; and it is said that the pair is worn to represent both husband and wife. A similar doubling is found in the Brahmins' sacred thread, and the doubled thread is to represent the wife.

During the period, when the marriage rites come on, the lady is always to carry a mirror which is exactly like mirror-idol of the goddess already referred to. This lends weight to the suggested origin of Tali. The mirror, it is reported, is carried to wean her from evil influence.

## 2. Ear Ornaments.

Specific ear ornament is found in use only among the Namputiri ladies. In that particular form known as *Cittu*, it can be used only with the



marriage, till which time they use wooden discs. This appears to be a significant ornament. For, even when the lady becomes a widow, she continues to wear the Cittu. The drop-like projections running around it, might originally have been pearls as in the case of ear-rings already referred. As regards Nayars, etc., no specific ornament is prescribed. They only use ordinary Tota, already referred to, but it is reported that in olden days they, as also Ambalavasis, used to wear on ceremonial occasions, the ear ornament, known as Katila, which has different varieties. Katilas are now used by Christians.

### 3. Neck Ornaments.

The most important neck ornaments for Namputiri ladies which may claim to have some aspect of ritualistic connections, are (1) the *Kasali* already referred to and (2) *Munnela Mani*, the three stringed beads. This latter is a favourite ornament with them. The Mani may probably represent grains, for the term is found used in that sense or it may stand for pearls. Other ornaments used at this time are *Tandu-Motiram* and the once favourite *Puttali*. This latter may be taken to mean *Puttali*, i. e., flower ornament, and it has some resemblance to a full blown flower. The Nairs and Ambalavasis have no specific ornaments for the rite, but they generally use the latter two ornaments. Still another is the "Nagapata Tali", a serpent hood Tali which is used only from the marriage period. It looks more or less like the serpent hood end of *Cilakka-Motiram*. Other

popular neck ornaments: (1) Kammal Mala (2) Pana Mala (3) Mulla-Mottu-Mala, i. e., Jasmine bud mala (4) Vairamani Mala (5) Kuliminnu and (6) Avilu Mala. These are very interesting types of ornaments, popular to some extent even now. Their relation to magic is in many cases clear. The second variety is on a par with *Kasali*, while the third shows in form and name its resemblance to the jasmine bud. The fourth is exceedingly interesting, and in this, since each mani is shaped like a cube, it offers a number of corner points for the passage of Magnetism and Electricity. Each piece in the fifth variety resembles a concave mirror on a stand and hence approximate to the Mannati Bimbam. It will thus be seen that these post-puberty ornaments also bear some close relation to Magic. These are also not void of their artistic beauty and it is unfortunate that they are tending to disappear.

#### 4. *Wrist Ornaments.*

There are no wrist ornaments that have any ritualistic value. Two are the more important kinds of ornaments for the wrist. (1) Puttu-Vala consisting of three or four ordinary simple bangles connected together, (2) *Rupam-Kotiya-Vala*—bangles with figures graven. The figure represents Lakshmi. This had been a favourite type of bangle in old days. These two types of bangles are generally worn by Hindus other than Namputiris, during the marriage days, and even after that, provided

they are rich enough to afford it. (3) Still another, once popular, pair of bangles is the *Ramayanam Vala* more or less agreeing with the former in general shape. This consists of one complete incident from the Ramayana engraved on them. This is a very queer type of bangle, and is but seldom found.

In the matter of wrist ornaments, the Namputiri ladies stand quite distinct from every other Hindu. The use of gold or silver bangles is tabooed in their case. They must wear bangles; and these must be made of brass or bell metal, the "*Adhyan*" using the former alloy and the *Hasyans* the latter. The Elayath caste ladies and Kosava (Patters) women also use this kind of bangles. Why the superior metals have been tabooed in the case of Namputiri women, why the choice has fallen on those particular alloys—these are questions not easily answerable. Want of money could not have been the reason, for the Namputiris constitute the landed gentry of the place. Is it to disfigure their hands and thus to wean them from temptation? It may be so, since when they go out, they cover themselves up their arm alone being exposed to view, which on account of the use of those bangles appear disfigured. But I believe a better reason for this partiality may be found in the fact that idols in the temples are generally made of similar alloys. The preference shown for alloys in making ornaments may have risen from this, and if this view is tenable, here also one may find the influence of Magic.

5. *Waist Ornaments.*

The Namputiri girls also use a waist ornament known as *Arannal*, which looks like a broad Albert chain, being generally half an inch or more in breadth. This is found generally made of silver and sometimes even of gold.

We have considered in the foregoing a number of ornaments which are or have been current amongst caste Hindus and many, if not all of them, show very clear traces of connection with Magic. Our ornaments also therefore only support Sir William Ridgeway's theory. The acceptance of this theory so far as these ornaments are considered, invest their study with more than a mere passing interest and importance; and as a matter of fact, the ornaments of a people constitute one of the most interesting objects of study to the student of antiquities for these have, as has been shown above, their own quota to give towards elucidation of at least some of the aspects of ancient culture. \*

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## V. THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FISH IN BENGAL.

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The object of this paper is to show what place fish occupies in the life of the Bengali people. This simple article of food has gathered round it a number of complex ideas and institutions—some of which may fairly claim hoary antiquity while others are of comparatively recent growth. So, a preliminary analysis of this trait-complex into its component parts should be the first objective of such a study. In the very beginning I wish to state that the various means of capturing fish and the connected ideas will not be dealt with here as that may form the subject matter of a comprehensive work. It is my intention, here, to bring out the significance of fish as a social, religious, and magical object. From this standpoint the following analysis of the trait-complex into its component parts will be of some help in systematically handling the materials at our disposal.

1. Fish as an edible object—taboos connected with it.
2. Fish as offerings to spirits and deities.
3. Fish as objects used in social ceremonies. e. g., marriage, etc.
4. Fish as a sacred object by itself.
5. Fish as symbols (magical or otherwise).
6. Fish as totems.
7. Fish as temporary or permanent seats for departed souls.

## I. FISH AS AN EDIBLE OBJECT—TABOOS CONNECTED WITH IT.

The big rivers of India especially in their lower courses where they pass through lowlying tracts, abound with fishes of all varieties. These regions are characterised by extensive water-logged areas which also form favourite breeding grounds for them. Thus, Bengal with her big rivers and spacious *bils* (water-logged areas) probably supersedes all other provinces of India in the production of fish and it is no strange coincidence that the Bengalees utilise this food material to a greater extent than the inhabitants of any other part of India. But inspite of its abundance, fish is not taken by all classes of people in Bengal.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the Hindu widows of higher castes and the Vaishnavas to a certain extent, avoid fish. The high-caste peoples, especially the Brahmins who wish to live up to the orthodox standard of purity, have to eschew fish as an article of food. Though their number is small in Bengal they increase as we proceed towards the west through the valleys of the Ganges and the Jamuna. In the Midland of the ancients the taboo on fish attains maximum strength and there association with the fish-eaters is considered to be polluting. In other parts of India the prohibition is mainly observed by the Brahmins, as for example in South India fish-eating is never thought of by any class of Brahmins—Saivite or Vaishnavite. If we divide the social orders of

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<sup>1</sup> In 1908. Sir K. G. Gupta estimated that not less than 80% of the population of Bengal are fish-eaters. *The census Reports of* 1921 also show that the same proportion is maintained even now.



India into horizontal groups we find that the lowest group invariably takes fish as a favourite article of food. This group also includes the tribal population. The higher groups, as a rule, avoid fish-eating though in certain quarters, such as Bengal and the Mahratta tract, it is not found to be in strict observance. But even in these latter cases some amount of odium is attached to the practice and even the breakers of the taboo, as if with a guilty conscience, acquiesce to the degraded position avowed by their non-fish-eating neighbours. Thus, though fish is avoided by certain classes of peoples, it is not from any humanitarian point of view that the taboo is observed. On the other hand it is in this very region and among this very class of people animal sacrifices are made and the meat of such sacrificed animals eaten without any scruple. Only a very limited number of people such as the Vaishnavas are not included among this group.

## II. FISH AS OFFERINGS TO SPIRITS AND DEITIES.

A careful analysis of the religious rites of the peoples of Bengal shows the occurrence of fish in many of the unexpected quarters. The *Aksaya-tṛtiyā* day (third day of the bright half of the month of *Bais'akh*) is connected with the preparation of *kāsundi* in many parts of Bengal. For a few days before, some quantity of mustard seeds are sunned; on the date already mentioned they are washed in some tank, preferably one ceremonially dedicated, by the female members of the family who also bathe at the same time. The washing of mustard

seeds is endowed with ceremonial importance in many parts of Bengal. In these areas all the mustard seeds to be consumed by the family during the coming year as condiments or otherwise are washed on this day and at the same time—it being ceremonially prohibited afterwards. Next the whole lot is sunned and the requisite quantity for the preparation of *kāsundi* is pounded into fine pulp. Meanwhile water from the same tank is boiled for a pretty long time in a new earthen pot. When everything is ready the mustard seed pulp is mixed with hot water in a new earthen pot in the main house of the family by one of the ladies who has her husband living. It is also salted and one or two green mangoes dropped into the preparation. On the next day the residual part of the mustard pulp is finely ground again and mixed with the whole lot. This is also regarded as a part of the rite. Three or four days later—on an auspicious day of the week e. g. Monday, Wednesday, Thursday or Friday—a part of this preparation is put into a small, new earthen pot, well-covered and put in a safe place in the house to be opened on the first day of the month of Āśāḍh. The whole operation is performed with a spirit of sanctimoniousness and is regarded as a religious rite. Now, on this day fish must be eaten by all the members of the family. The rite is interesting from the standpoint that women only take part in this rite under ordinary circumstances.

On the first day of the month of Āśāḍh god-

dess Parvatī is worshipped in her aspect of Nistārīṇī (one who delivers from difficulties) by the women-folk of high caste Hindu families of some districts of Bengal. The actual worship is performed by the Brahmin priest and the offerings consist of the following special articles over and above the usual things. They are (a) rice (b) vegetables (c) salt (d) pulse (e) some spices e. g. turmeric, chilli etc. (f) fish, preferably Hilsā (Indian shad) and (g) the pot of mustard preparation, as already mentioned. The common offerings are partaken of by the devotees and others present on the occasion, just after the completion of the worship while the special offerings are cooked in separate pots sanctimoniously and eaten by the devotees themselves who may not take any other food on this day. The last two items of this list of offerings is thus interesting for our purpose. In some parts, certain portion of the fish thus offered, is given to the officiating priest as his perquisite.

The Ś'rīpañcamī day (the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Māgh) is characterised in Bengal by the worship of Saraswatī—the goddess of learning. The worship is very widely distributed over the province and we may say without any hesitation that the whole of the middle class of Bengal, who are specially devoted to the maintenance of culture old and new, participate without exception. Saraswatī does not represent the “implements or insignia of the vocation by which he (*the votary*)<sup>2</sup> lives” as Sir H. H. Risley has described but is the symbolic representation of

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<sup>2</sup> The bracketed portion is ours.

culture in all its aspects. (Risley—*The People of India* 1915, p. 235). In some districts of Bengal (e. g. Jessore) Hilsā (Indian shad) fish is placed as an offering before the goddess at the time of worship. In certain other districts, on this day, it is customary to bring a pair of Hilsā (Indian shad) fish to the house. They are ceremonially taken with shoutings of *ulu, ulu, ulu* into the interior of the main house by some woman of the family whose husband is living, if possible by the housewife. Next they are honoured with a few grains of winter paddy and *durvā* shoots together with vermilion paint applied to the forehead of the fishes. The scales of these fishes are deposited safely in a hole by the side of the centre-post of the main house, which is also otherwise endowed with ceremonial importance. It is believed that this would increase the progeny and the wealth of the family. Originally the ceremony seems to have been a fertility rite, symbolised by the pair, which has at a later stage come to be associated with ideas of homoeopathic magic—the circular shining scales representing silver coins. This ceremony may also be performed on some other auspicious day later on.

The greatest national festival of Bengal—the Durgā Pūjā—is marked with the introduction of fish in ritual practices. On all the three days of worship different varieties of fish are offered to the goddess after cooking both in Eastern and Western Bengal (e. g. Faridpur, Howrah). In the district

of Dacca certain new features are added which show superimposition of the practices of different cultures. Here, on the last day of worship i. e. the Das'amī day, boiled rice kept overnight immersed in water, chutney prepared with the lotus stalk and the soup of *boal*-fish (*Wallago attu*)—all prepared on the previous day—are offered to the goddess. It is a strict injunction of the Hindu Shāstras that all articles of food must be prepared fresh and the consumption of stale food is decried in unequivocal language. The goddess Durgā is fondly conceived in Bengal to be on a visit to her father's house on the earth for this short period of five days, during the whole year, the rest of which she is to pass in company of a penniless, drunkard and exacting husband. This popular conception of the goddess's visit and her family life lack any Shāstric foundation but are often referred to in the medieval Bengali literature. These ideas and practices together with others like *Pan'kotsav* etc. probably indicate the intermixture of different cultures.

Sheat-fish is also offered to the goddess Kalī on the New Moon day of the month of As'win i. e. on the Dīpanvītā day. The festival of lights is distributed all over India but in Bengal it has become associated with the worship of Kalī.

This variety of fish is also offered in the daily worship of Kalī in certain other parts of Bengal. Thus at Bhowanipur in the district of Bogra we have an old temple of Kalī dating from the time of Rānī Bhawānī of sacred memory, of Natore.

It is believed that her adopted son Mahārāja Rāmkrishna attained *siddhi* (spiritual beatification) at this place. In this temple sheat-fish is daily offered to the goddess along with other offerings. Nay, cakes made of the palmyra fruit and *boāl* fish are the two indispensable offerings which must be procured at any cost. But ripe palmyra fruits are not usually found on every day throughout the year under ordinary circumstances. But it is believed, that such is the glory of the goddess worshipped here, that at least one such ripe fruit will surely be found on every day in one of the trees growing in the garden attached to the temple. Hundreds of devout Hindu pilgrims visit the place throughout the year but on the last day of the month of Paus (Dec.—Jan.) a special gathering takes place when thousands of men assemble here. This is not the only place where *boāl* fish is offered but there are other temples of Kali where the same practice is observed. It may be mentioned here, that *boāl* fish is not eaten by the high-caste Hindus in many parts of Bengal but the lower classes consider it a delicacy.

Another religious rite, which figures as an important national festival of Bengal, also includes fish as an offering. The end of the Bengali calendar year is celebrated throughout the province with great rejoicing coupled with peculiar religious rites. It is a festival in which the lower classes predominate almost to the exclusion of the higher castes. The functions of the Brahmin priest and the high class devotee are limited to unimportant



ritualistic performances while the real devotees are the lower classes whose chief works as priest in the main rites of the ceremony. The festival extends over a prolonged period sometimes beginning from the middle of the month but more usually seven days before the Samkrānti and continues till the New Year's Day. In course of this festival god S'iva is worshipped on the last day of the year at midnight by the *bālā* (the lowcaste priest) on a spot where a Caṇḍāl<sup>3</sup> who has died of unnatural death, has been cremated. There the chief performer (*bālā*) together with two or three assistants repair at the dead of night and cook rice over a fire kindled with the unburnt or half-burnt wood left by those who came to cremate dead bodies. A *gajār* fish is also roasted on this fire. This cooked rice and *gajār* fish are then offered to S'iva on a plantain leaf by the *bālā* with recitation of *mantras* (incantations) composed in an archaic vernacular which is not always intelligible even to the performer himself. Curiously enough though *gajār* fish is offered to god S'iva, one of the Hindu Trinity, it is never eaten by the highcaste Hindus.

Burnt fish is offered to Ksetrapāla (guardian deity of the cultivated fields) and Jaya Durga (Durga the giver of victories) two popular deities of the district of Faridpur (*Man in India*, Vol. XI, P. 49).

### III. FISH AS OBJECTS USED IN SOCIAL CEREMONIES.

. The place of fish in our social rites and cere-

<sup>3</sup> Another name of the Namasudras. The caste seems to have been recruited from the Pre-Dravidian group.

monies is not a very prominent one and we are sometimes required to stretch our imagination to perceive the connection. Marriage may be regarded as the most important affair in the life of a man in every community. This ceremony of the Hindus of Bengal is invariably connected with fish in every part of the province. In Eastern Bengal the aricles for performing the *adhibasa* ceremony which precedes every marriage, are despatched to the house of the bridegroom or bride, as the case may be, and they always include a pair of fish with scales. Generally one of these two is bigger than the other though both of them may be of equal size. Along with them betel leaves, curd, a piece of cloth, a cup of sandalwood paste, a necklace of wooden beads, a cotton waist-string and a sacred thread, in the case of Brāhmins, are also sent. In Western Bengal also fish is included among other things despatched for the purpose of *gaye-halud* ceremony (the ceremony of besmearing with turmeric paste). Thus the very beginning of marriage is marked with fish which is regarded as an auspicious article throughout the ceremony and even later in life. The pair of fish thus presented in Eastern Bengal probably symbolise the marital union of two individuals which they inaugurate or may be an instance of homoeopathic magic signifying that the human pair going to be united may have abundant progeny like the fishes.

Later on, in course of the marriage ceremony, when the bride comes to the house of her husband for the first time, she enters it along with her

husband with a fish in her hand. In the District of Howrah, according to one of my informants, a divinatory ceremony takes place when the bride arrives at her husband's house for the first time. A number of fish of different varieties are placed before her one of which she is to take and this indicates, according to popular belief, the nature and disposition of the bride.

During the ten, eight or four days following marriage, that is until the symbolic marriage tie is untied, the couple must have fish as an invariable article of their daily food. Wilful omission is never thought of but if unavoidable circumstances lead to this result it is interpreted as prognosticating early widowhood on the part of the bride who will be thus deprived of fish-eating thenceforth.

During the married life of a woman, who has her husband living, she must try to take fish on every day, if possible, if not, on special occasions without failing. Thus, every month on the third day of her menstruation, when she is ceremonially purified by ablution, she should take fish though only for that day. Again when a woman, whose husband is living, comes to the house of her husband from that of her father, she should have fish as an article of diet on that day at least.

After marriage, when the bride goes to her father's place from that of her husband and when she is brought back to her husband's house after this visit, the party which goes to bring the girl, on both occasions, must take some fish and betel

leaves, if not anything else, as presents for the other party where the girl is residing at the time. Wealthy peoples may continue such exchange of presents even later on. This present as also those sent at the time of *adhibāsa* or *gāye-halud* have special social significance. The articles of food sent on these occasions are never wholly consumed by the families to which they are given but are distributed among all the families who collectively form the *samāj* (community) and also to friends.

Widowhood in Bengalee Hindu society is characterised by several taboos on the food, dress, decorations and general behaviour of the unfortunate woman. One of these is imposed upon fish which a widow may not take even throughout her life. The force of this prohibition is fully perceived when we consider that the widow is thus deprived of the most common delicacy and the chief nourishment of her life and compelled to give up a habit contracted in her childhood.

Let us now analyse another social rite of great importance namely, the *S'rāddha* ceremony (funeral rites) and see what place fish occupies in it. It is well known that the agnates of a dead person in the Bengalee Hindu society are required to observe certain taboos which increase in the case of the near relatives such as wife and sons. The period of mourning depends upon the caste of the family and is characterised by total abstinence from fish, meat, eggs, some kinds of pulses, onions, etc. Sons and the wife are to wear special mourning dress while all agnates are not to cleanse

their clothes, shave their beards or crop hair, etc. Now these taboos on food are removed in a ceremony known as *matsyamukhi* (fish-eating ceremony). On this day, which falls on the first ceremonially suitable day after the *S'rāddha* ceremony, all the relatives especially the agnates, sit together at a feast when fish is served, for the first time, to the observers of the taboos. The nearest agnate belonging to the superior grade of agnatic kinship, and preferably older in age, puts a piece of fish from his own plate on that of the chief mourner and this ends the period of taboos for all concerned. Thus fish here serves as an emblem of all the taboos taken together and the partaking of it removes all other taboos automatically.

On the day of the *S'rāddha* ceremony various offerings are made to the departed soul such as dress, decorations, beddings, seats, food, etc. Among the Brahmins cooked food is offered and it includes fish and other articles relished by the departed. In some parts of Western Bengal the *Agradānī* <sup>4</sup> is to eat the food thus offered to the departed soul, sitting in the cowshed; later on. Among the non-Brahmins some uncooked fish are offered at this time which are taken away by the *Agradānī*. Not only during the *Ādya s'rāddha* ceremony but also during the *Ābhyudāyika s'rāddha* (offerings made to the ancestral spirits) ceremony which precedes social rites like marriage, first-rice-eating ceremony, etc. fish forms a part of the

<sup>4</sup> A class of degraded Brahmins who receive gifts at funeral rites.

offerings. In certain other parts of Bengal a piece of burnt fish is offered to the *preta* at the time of the *Ādyās'raddha* ceremony.

#### IV FISH AS A SACRED OBJECT BY ITSELF.

Fishes sometimes figure as objects of superstitious regard in some places of Bengal. Thus, the temple of Tripures'warī of Tippera is widely known throughout Bengal for its sanctity and antiquity. The temple is said to have been constructed by some ancestor of the Maharaja of Tippera on the spot where a particular part of the body of Satī, the spouse of Siva and the daughter of Daksa, fell under the Sudars'ana cakra of Nārāyaṇa, after her death at the sacrifice of her father. It is dedicated to Parvatī in her aspect of Tripures'warī. This temple has a tank attached to it where fishes abound and are carefully protected from molestation. Every-day at the end of the daily *pūjā* the flesh of a he-goat sacrificed to the goddess is cut into pieces and given to the fishes in the tank. No one ever thinks of killing or eating or annoying them in any way and they also, on their part, have become so tame and accustomed to their food that at the appointed time they all congregate near the place whence the pieces of flesh are distributed.

A similar account is current about the Darga of Shah Jalal a Muhammadan saint of Sylhet. There the fishes are not fed with flesh but with other kinds of food offered by the devout visitors who never think of killing, eating or disturbing



them in any way. Here also fishes appear as soon as called by the visitors. In Mayurbhanj, about eighteen miles to the west of Baripada, near Baldiha, within the hills covered with dense forest I found a place where a few years ago an ascetic (Sadhu) lived alone on the bank of a big pool formed by a hill stream passing through a deep gorge surrounded on all sides by hills. A temple with a S'iva-linga set up by the Sadhu, as the report goes, still stands on the spot though the worshipper is dead. We personally visited the place and at a call from us a large number of fish appeared near the landing place and began to eat parched grains which we threw on the waters of the pool. On our proposing to kill some of these for our lunch our guides shrank with fear as they regarded it not only sacrilegious but also fraught with danger. In many rivers and tanks, at sacred places like Hardwar and Benares, fishes are venerated, fed and carefully protected. (*Crooke-Religious etc.* P. 377).

In the socio economic rite of Punyaha of the merchants of the different districts of Bengal, fish occurs as a sacred object. On the first day of the year every merchant invites his habitual customers to his shop on a friendly visit and also expect that the creditors will pay some money on this day. A plate is kept for this purpose on which the creditor is to place his part of the due. By the side of this plate, in a vessel filled with water, a few living fishes are kept both as sacred objects and auspicious symbols.

Hilsā fish (Indian Shad) figures as an important article of food for a few months in the districts of Lower Bengal and a number of customs have originated around this delicacy. This fish is tabooed from the day following the Bijayā Das'ami day (tenth day of the bright half of the month of As'win—i. e. Sept-Oct.) till the next S'rīpāncami day (fifth day of the bright half of the month of Magh i. e. Jan-Feb). During this period the strict observers of ancient customs do not eat this fish. The prohibition has the salutary effect of providing for a copious supply of this important article of food in the next year as this taboo protects the fishes during their breeding season.

In the mind of ordinary people fish is very closely associated with evil spirits and ghosts. Stories of ghosts, pursuing some hapless rover while returning at dead of night or again requesting some amateur fisherman to part with a portion of the haul in his favour, are readily believed in by ordinary men. The nets of the fishermen are considered to work as effective preventives against the evil designs of these supernatural enemies. It is significant that this class of stories are mostly spoken of in connection with the adventures of amateurish fishermen and not about professionals. Pregnant women as also those who have recently given birth to children, may not touch any fishing implement as they might be possessed by evil spirits who have some undefined connection with these instruments. In certain

parts of the district of Dacca, when a woman loses her child soon after birth and that successively for a number of times, a special variety of small fish is caught and its forehead daubed with vermilion and let loose by the woman concerned. It is believed that thenceforth her children will live the usual span of life. The fishermen also do not kill such vermilion-marked fishes but allow them to return to their own element.<sup>5</sup> Here the fish is not only a sacred object but it has also some magical significance.

#### V. FISH AS SYMBOLS (magical or otherwise).

Instances of fish occurring as magical symbols have already been referred to in connection with the previous sections (pages 280, 284). We have noticed that in many of the social ceremonies fish appears as fertility symbols. In certain other cases they are mere auspicious symbols which character also may be ultimately traced to their connection with fertility rites. In addition to these instances there are others which belong to the domain of nefarious magic. In some parts of Western Bengal a kind of small fish, locally known as *ogol taki* which is not eaten by the higher caste peoples, is cut on the crossing of roads in the hope of recovery from certain specified diseases.

#### VI & VII FISH AS TOTEMS & FISH AS TEMPORARY OR PERMANENT SEATS FOR DEPARTED SOULS.

Totemism persists in the western parts of Bengal among the tribal peoples living in these parts and

<sup>5</sup> See, *Man in India*, Vol. III, p. 236.

further towards the west. Among the Hinduised tribes also we meet with the remains of totemism. Fish appears as totem in both these groups. (See p. 298—299). As seats of departed spirits I did not find any instance in Bengal but have found in other parts of India such as the Central Provinces and the Punjab. Instances illustrating these two aspects of fish will be described in connection with the interpretation of the data already collected.

So long we have dealt with the evidences relating to the occurrence of fish as an object of social and religious rites. We have already described a fairly good amount of materials on these points and more may be collected if a systematic search is made throughout the rural parts of Bengal. But before proceeding to undertake such a laborious task let us examine the data already accumulated here and see what significance they have in the reconstruction of the cultural history of Bengal. For this purpose a preliminary survey of the history of racial stratification of Bengal will be helpful. Bengal is surrounded on the east, west and north by various groups of primitive tribes from the dawn of historical records. Both towards the north and the east and partially also towards the south or rather south-east wherever the broad plains give place to hills the racial stock also does automatically change. Towards the east and south-east the hills are now inhabited by different groups of Tibeto-Burman tribes who seem to be comparatively recent immi-

grants into these places. On the western side of our province the plains end in jungle-covered uplands which ultimately extend to the hills of Chota Nagpur on the west and the hinterland of Orissa on the south-west. At present these tracts are mainly inhabited by various groups of Pre-Dravidian tribes e. g. the Mundas, Oraons, Bhumijas, Santals, Khonds, Saurias, Savaras and others. Thus, Bengal is surrounded on all the landward sides by primitive tribes. Not only this, even within the confines of Bengal we find straggling remnants of formidable bodies of tribes who have bowen down before the invading hordes with superior cultures and have tacitly accepted the socially ignominious position of depressed castes. These stragglers of an once powerful people still form the bulk of our population. Physically they bear close similarity with the Pre-Dravidians of the western border and are most probably affiliated to them. Leaving aside the controversial question of the Negritoid element, these Pre-Dravidian castes and tribes really form the substratum of the Bengalee population and even of the Indian people. They were succeeded by several other strains. What part the Dravidians played in the formation of our people still remains uncertain. The brachycephalic tendency which was once wrongly attributed to the Mongoloid strains by Sir H. H. Risley has since been corrected and attributed to the Alpines. At a later date Bengal had another strain of dolichocephalic Caucasian blood from the west. These were the Indo-Afghans of Haddon, *Homo Indo-europæus Dolichomorphus* of Ruggeri and

Caspian-Mediterranean of Dixon, who originated the Vedic culture in the Valley of the Five Rivers and carried it down to all directions. The cultural influence of this stock was immense over the people of Bengal but the racial impress can only be traced in the higher castes and that even as a veneer only. Thus we have the following racial stratification in Bengal :—

- (1) Pre-Dravidians (Proto-Australoids of Dixon)
- (2) Dravidians (strength uncertain)
- (3) Alpines (fairly good number)
- (4) Dolicho-Aryans (a veneer only)

This res'ume' of the racial stratification of Bengal will help and guide us in attributing to its proper bearer the particular aspect of the trait-complex which forms the subject matter of this short paper.

Fish is mentioned only once in the *Rigveda* (X. 68, 8.) where a whole Sūkta is devoted to it. But it does not indicate fish as an article of food among the Rigvedic Āryas. It refers to the method of catching them with nets and that also by peoples probably belonging to a different racial stock. In the later Vedas also, such as the Atharvaveda, the Vājasaneyī Samhitā and the Taittirīya Samhitā we find the mention of fish in various connection but it is never mentioned as an article of food fit for the Āryas. In the later Vedic literature viz the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanisads and the S'rauta Sūtras fish is referred to in several places but here also it is not mentioned as an object of food. "The Vājasaneyī Samhitā (XXX)



and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (III. 4), however, in the list of victims in the Purusamedha (‘human sacrifice’) include a number of names which seem to be those of persons who make a livelihood by fishing or by hunting, such as the Mārgāra, ‘hunter’, the Kaivarta or Kevarta, Pauṇjistha, Dāsa, Maināla, ‘fisherman’ and perhaps the Bainda and the Ānda, who seem to have been some sort of fishermen”. (Macdonell & Keith-*Vedic Index Vol. II*, PP. 172-173). While commenting on the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, Sāyaṇa has attempted to explain the different modes of catching fish, prevalent in those days, from the various terms indicating ‘fisherman’ but the authors of the “*Vedic Index*” do not regard these explanations as of much authority. Thus, “Sāyaṇa says that Dhaivara is one who takes fish by netting a tank on either side., Dāsa and S’auskala do so by means of a fish-hook (baḍisā)., Baina, Kaivarta and Maināla by means of a net (jāla)., Mārgāra catches fish in the water with his hands, Ānda by putting in pegs at a ford (apparently by building a sort of dam)., Parṇaka by putting a poisoned leaf on the water”. (Macdonell & Keith *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, P. 174). Thus, though fish, fishing methods and fishermen occur in the different passages of the early and the later Vedic literature it is really strange that even once it does not appear as an article of food. On the other hand the Vedic literature abounds with references to many other kinds of food and drink e. g. apūpa (cake), āmiksā (clotted curds), odana (mess), karambha (gruel), ksīra (milk), ksīraudana (rice cooked with milk), ghṛta (ghee), dadhi (sour milk), navanīta

(fresh butter), payasyā (curds), parivāpa (fried grains of rice), piṇḍa (ball of flour), pīyūsa (biestings), pṛsadājya (sprinkled butter), pratiduh (fresh milk), plās'uka (fast growing rice), phāṇṭa (creamy butter), madhu (honey), mastu (sour curds), māmsa (meat), mudgaudana (rice cooked with beans), yavāgū (barley gruel), viṣṭārin (porridge), kīlāla (sweet drink), parisrut (a drink), madya (intoxicating liquor), surā (spirituous liquor), etc. (Macdonell & Keith-*Vedic Index*, Vol. II. PP. 578-579). It would be really strange to miss fish in this long list if it at all had been a kind of food used by the Āryas of the Vedic days. Though this type of negative evidence is no sure guide to our knowledge about the feelings of the Vedic Indians towards fish as an article of food yet it gives us sufficient ground to suspect a sort of taboo on fish in their culture-pattern. But when the sacred literature of later periods, which claim to rest on the Vedic traditions, cautiously lifts a few of the restrictions imposed on fish-eating, their attitude corroborates our suspicion and actuates us to believe in the existence of a definite taboo on fish-eating in the Vedic days.

Not only this, an analysis of the customs surrounding fish in Bengal, as already described, shows that they have possibly no connection with the Vedic Aryans and their culture. Thus, as already stated, fish occurs in such parts of the marriage ceremony which have no relation with rites prescribed in the sacred literature. In funeral rites also it is dissociated from the Brahmanical

rituals but is observed later on as a social custom. The deities to whom fish is offered do not seem to be the unmixed products of Vedic Aryan conception. Thus, Kālī, to whom fish is regularly offered on one occasion at least during the year, presents various un-Aryan elements. The group of rites and ceremonies connected with the Caitra Sankranti (last day of the Bengali year) is mainly un-Aryan and the particular occasion when fish is used as an offering in course of these rites is specially remarkable for its outlandish character which, I think, reaches its climax in the Hāzrā Pūjā. So it may be argued that fish was not introduced into the religious and social rites of Bengal by the dolichocephalic bearers of Midlandic culture.

The contributions of the Dravidians to the culture of Bengal still remain unascertained. Moreover we are not aware of the part played by the Dravidians in the racial composition of Bengal. So the question of their contribution to the make-up of the trait-complex dealt with here may be dropped for the present.

The remaining two groups of peoples who probably contributed the greatest share in the racial ensemble of Bengal are the Pre-Dravidians and the brachycephalic Aryans who have been identified with the Alpines. The Pre-Dravidians not only form the basic substratum of the population of Bengal but appears to have equally influenced the ethnic types of the whole of India except the Punjab, Rajputana, parts of the United Provinces, Kashmir and the North-west Frontier Provinces. In all

these tracts fishing is in the hands of special castes who show marked Pre-Dravidian characteristics, both physical and cultural. Though certain kinds of fish are allowed as food in some of our Shastras we do not find a single reference to Aryans following fishing as an occupation. The Dharmashastras are very strict in this matter and even while delineating *apaddharma* they have not allowed it to the twice-born. On the other hand, it is constantly mentioned as the occupation of low-born peoples who did not belong to their culture or race. Thus it is possible that fishing was practised by the Pre-Dravidians only. Though fish is tabooed to higher castes throughout India under the influence of Midlandic culture yet it is used as an important article of food in the very same area among the lower castes. This appears to be the direct effect of the Pre-Dravidian basic substratum in the population of these regions. But who did raise this commonplace article of food to the sphere of religious ritualism? Fish sometimes occurs as totems of the unassimilated Pre-Dravidian tribes of Chota Nagpur. Thus, the Kharwars have *aind* (a kind of eel), *ghansi* (a pond fish, and *sheor* (a fish) as their totems., the Lohars of Chota Nagpur have *ban* (a kind of eel), *kusuar* (a river fish), *saur* (a fish),. the Mahlis have *induar* (a kind of eel),...the Mals of Midnapur and Manbhum, a Hinduised pre-Dravidian tribe of Central and Western Bengal have *penkal mach* and *sal mach* (two kinds of fish) as their totems. Among the Mundas we have *aind* (a kind of eel),

*binjuar* (a kind of eel), *area* (a kind of fish) *dūndu* (another kind of eel), *dungdung* (a kind of river fish), *hemram* (a kind of fish), *jia* (a river-fish), *kandru* (fish), *machli* (fish), *maugh* (fish), *sal* (a big pond fish), *sisungi* (a kind of fish), *sohek* (a kind of fish), *Solai* (fish). The Oraons also possess fish totems e. g. *Beanh* (a large fish with thorns on its back), *Dirra* (a kind of eel), *Induar* (a kind of eel), *Kenu* (a fish), *Khalkhoa* (members of this totem cannot eat fish caught by baling water out of a tank or pool), *Kosuar* (a kind of fish), *Kusuwa* (a fish), *Lila* (a kind of fish), *Sal* (fish), *Tiru* (a kind of fish). The Santals have *Boar* (fish), and *aind* (a kind of eel), as subsects among them. The Bhumijas have *Bhuiya* (a fish), and *Salrishi* (sal fish) while Birhors have *Hemrom* (a kind of fish), as their totems. Space does not permit to multiply the number of such instances. Stories explaining these totemic connections are recounted and taboos are observed by the totemites. In one instance i. e. among the Bhumijas of Seraikella I found a belief that the souls belonging to the members of a fish-totem return to the fishes in the waters of the river after burial which is done in their case in the river-bed under water. The Gonds of C. P. believe that the souls of the dead take habitation in fish, so, after burial "they go to the river, cry out the name of the dead man and catch a fish which they fully believe is the mortal vehicle of that soul". This fish is then eaten in the belief that the deceased will be born again in the family. (S. T. Moses—Fish and Religion in Southern India—J. M. S., Bangalore,

Vol. XIII, p. 553). Among the Oraons the *Sarhul* or the Feast of Sal blossoms, which in Oraon is called *khekel-benja* or Marriage of the Earth, is essentially the feast of New Vegetation and "forms with its elaborate ritual the principal religious festival of the Oraons". This festival consists of several rites in one of which "a few young men go to some neighbouring stream or pool to catch fish for the *dubki tian* a curry of which the principal ingredients are small cakes (*bari*) of *urid* (*Phaseolus roxburghii*) pulse and fish which must be partaken of on the occasion of the *Sarhul* festival". (Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy—Oraon Religion and Customs, p. 158). So it would not be stretching the imagination too far to assume that fish had a definite place in the religious and social ideology of the Pre-Dravidians. This is further corroborated by the facts that some of the other types of totemic objects e. g. trees, animals and heavenly objects occur even to this day in the religious beliefs and practices of these tribes and are regularly or occasionally worshipped or appeased by them. Thus it is possible that the occurrence of fish in the social and religious rites of the Hindus of Bengal is a contribution from the Pre-Dravidians, who form the substratum of our people here.

But another significant fact remains to be cited. It is about the distribution of ritualistic use of fish in India which points to a probable connection with the brachycephalic element of our population. Outside Bengal ritualistic use of fish is met with in such parts of India where brachycephaly



predominates. Moreover, the area of distribution of this trait-complex is peripheral in nature. Thus, the bulk of the Holeyas are found in South Canara, though a considerable number occur in Coimbatore and on the Nilgiris. They are spoken of as "field labourers, and former agrestic serfs of South Canara Pulayan being the Malayalam and Paraiyan the Tamil form of the same word." On the last day of their marriage ritual the Holeyas couple take a "mat to a river or tank where fish may be found, dip the mat into the water, and catch some fish, which they let go after kissing." <sup>6</sup> "The married pair of a Kanara Brahmin Family go to a pond, throw rice into the water, and catch fish with a cloth, they set all of them loose except one, with the scales of which they mark their brows, if they fail to catch a fish, they make one of white flour and use it in the same way." <sup>7</sup> Mr. Thurston informs that "on the death of a prince of Malabar, all fishing is temporarily prohibited, and only renewed after three days, when the spirit of the departed is supposed to have had time enough to choose its abode without molestation." <sup>8</sup> Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthkrishna Iyer, author of "The Cochin Tribes and Castes" verbally informs me that the Bodhayana group of Brahmins of South India fish with a cloth in a vessel of water which does not really contain any fish, during the marriage ceremony. "In Malabar injuring certain kinds of fishes specially bred in

<sup>6</sup> Thurston—*Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. II, p. 330.

<sup>7</sup> Crooke—*Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 1926, p. 244.

<sup>8</sup> Thurston—*Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VII, p. 291.

tanks attached to certain temples which are invested with varying degrees of sanctity is regarded as a sin' (Gopal Panikkar—*Malabar and its Folk*, 1900, p. 200). The sacred fishes mentioned above are the carp, the minnows, the barbels, the Carnatic carp, and the Mahseers. A ritual observed by the worshippers at shrines consists in part of the feeding of fish, an act which is considered meritorious. Rice, etc., used in connection with Shraddas and other ceremonies is thrown to the fishes".<sup>9</sup> "The Buddhist Pagodas, in Burma and Nepal, have sacred fish in their tanks". Figures of fish beautify the walls and pillars of many of the South Indian temples but the presiding deity has never the form of a fish. "Nerenika in Bellary district is a temple dedicated to Malleswara near which is a cave where a crude carving of a rock into something like the caricature of fish is worshipped".<sup>10</sup> The following ponds and rivers attached to temples have sacred fish preserved in them :—

1. Papanasam Falls in Tinnevely district has a famous Saivite temple on its bank. The sacred fish in this river are fed from the temple funds.
2. The temple of Kashi Iswarwlinga at Thiruparankuntam in Madura district is approached by swimming across a tank full of sacred fish which are very tame and come for food when called by any one.

<sup>9</sup> S. T. Moses—*Fish and Religion in Southern India*, Journal of the Mythic Society of Bangalore, Vol. XIII, p. 548.

<sup>10</sup> S. T. Moses—Ibid, p. 548.

3. In the Trichinopoly district, near Arappale-swaran Koil is a stream with many sacred fish who come to take their feed in response to a dinner gong.

The Tanjore district abounds in temple tanks usually connected with the Cauvery. These are swarmed with all kinds of sacred fish e. g. fresh water shark, Hilsā, carp, etc. "In Malabar the famous fish pagoda dedicated to Durga in Wynnad is on the banks of a river where sacred fish consisting mostly of Carnatic carp are fed by pilgrims." The famous Sringeri Mutt has a tank attached to it on the steps of which stands installed the Nikareswaram Lingam which is daily worshipped with offerings of boiled rice. The sacred fish in the tank are fed with this rice. It is believed here that skin diseases can be cured by propitiating the fishes in this tank. <sup>11</sup>

"Another cause of veneration for fish is the popular belief of the souls of the dead, especially gluttons, finding repose by transmigrating into fish. In Malabar and Travancore this belief appears to be widespread and Fra Paolina de san Bartolomeo says 'when a Malabar king, prince, or a great man dies the Mukkuwans must for sometime give over fishing and as a signal that it is then prohibited branches of trees are always stuck up here and there on the banks of the rivers. They are generally suffered to remain eight or ten days in order that the soul of the deceased during that time may choose for itself a new habitation in the body of some fish.' (A Voyage to East Indies, 1800, p. 242). <sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> S. T. Moses—Ibid, P. 548.

<sup>12</sup> " " P. 553.

## ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

In his Presidential Address to the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 27th, 1931 (published in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* for January to June 1931). Prof. J. L. Myres, referred to the projected international Congress of Anthropology and Ethnology which is expected to meet once every four years and is to hold its first session in London in 1934. It may be expected, India, will be represented in that Congress.

In one section of his address, Prof. Myers emphasises the need of Anthropological training for civil servants and others engaged in administrative work among native populations, and shows the absurdity of the "traditional Utopian contrast between anthropological and administrative stand-points, and between the work of an anthropological expert and that of an administrative officer". Referring to the unsatisfactory practice of consulting an anthropological expert too late in an "unexpected crisis", Prof. Myers advises administrations and Governments of such countries to adopt the reputed Chinese plan of employing and paying a doctor as long as you feel well, apply it to administrative anthropologists.

In *Man* for July 1931, Mr. T. B. Nayar contributed a note on "A Corpus of Indian Pottery" from South Indian burials. These are found to resolve themselves into four main types:—(1) large urn or jar burial; (2) terracotta sacrophagi; (3)

stone-cist or kist-vaen, and (4) the "draw-well" and barrow of the Nilgiri Hills.

In *Man* for October, 1931, Mr. K. de B. Codrington under the caption "Caste or Nation," writes an interesting account (illustrated by a Plate) of a Mala Salavadi's Badge of Office which is now in the India Museum, South Kensington. It is made of brass, cast by the *cire perdue* process in the form of a large ladle, the handle of which is roughly fiddle-shaped at the end and is ornamented with two bulls couchant (*Nandi*), facing a receptacle (*Yoni*) for a *Linga*. At the end of the arm, there is a pierced protuberance from which hangs a brass chain of cut and bent links, with a large bell at the end, also a *cire perdue* brass casting. The work is said to probably belong to the middle of the 19th century. With reference to the ethnic relations of the Malas and the various other so-called castes with whom they have to do socially (Balija, Linga-Balija, Kapu, Chetti, Desari and Desayi), Mr. Codrington points out that here we are dealing not with "castes" in any ethnic sense, but with a widespread, decayed social organization.

In *Man* for December, 1931, summaries are given of three Public Lectures on India, delivered at University College, London.

In the first Lecture ("*India, Past and Present*") delivered on the 12th October, 1931, the Marquis of Zetland (Lord Ronaldshay) points out the complexity of Indian problems—from geographical, ethnological, linguistic, and historical points of view. From its

geographical variety arise the differences of economic and social organization. The occupational and sectarian aspects of the caste-system as it exists a further complication. Most of her successive invaders India has successfully assimilated, but the culture of Islam has remained very much a thing apart. Above this are now being super-imposed western thought and standards, and western modes of living.

In the second lecture, delivered on the 19th October, 1931, Prof. F. W. Thomas took for his subject the *Kings and Emperors of Ancient India*. "The Indian princes", he said, "were the inheritors of a great tradition, the accomplishments of which were a challenge to the indiscriminate application of Western democracy to a country as disunited as India."

In the third lecture, delivered on the 26th October, 1931, Mr. K. de B. Codrington took "*Indian Sculpture*" for his subject. The learned lecturer pointed out that Indian sculpture showed uniform development which was a witness of a certain cultural unity. Although India was admittedly complex, its complexity was not merely geographical, linguistic or ethnological; but it was in fact "a radical difference of mind, function and organization, the difference between the city-dweller and the country-dweller and the hill and forest-dwellers, isolated by their tribal organization." The eighth century was the apex of Indian sculpture, an acquaintance with which is radically affecting modern sculpture.



In *Folklore* for December, 1930, Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham contributes an interesting paper on *The Proverbs of the Shahabad District*. He shows how their proverbs mirror their lives, and, when their application is correctly appreciated, are a guide to their character and actions.

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for March, 1931, Dr. Mathuralal Sarma, contributes an article on "*Magical Beliefs and Superstitions in Buddhism*."

In the June—September number of the same journal, Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra contributes the first instalment of his *Studies in the Folklore of North Bihar*, and also a *Note on a Recent Instance of Human sacrifice from the District of Sambalpur in Orissa*, *A Note on Felish-worship in the Jalpaiguri District*, and *A Note on the Nepalese belief about a particular Individual being permanently obsessed by a Deity*; and Mr. L. V. R. Aiyar contributes a *Note on Dravidic Names for "Palms."*

In the same *Journal* for December, 1931, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy contributes an article on *The Effects on the Aborigines of Chota Nagpur of their Contact with Western Civilization*, and Mr. S. C. Mitra contributes *Further Notes on the Kolarian Belief about the Neolithic Celts*.

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for June, 1931, Miss Mrinal Das Gupta continues her article on *Early Visnuism and Nārāyaṇiya Worship*.

In the September (1931) number of the same *Journal*, Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah gives *Two Tantric*

*Stories*, being the Javanese Version of the *Panchatantra stories*.

In the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* for April 1931 Mr. S. Bhimsankara Rao contributes a paper on *The Evolution of the Brahminical Hierarchy*. In the July number of the same Journal Dr. C. Narayana Rao continues his *Study of the Telugu Roots*, Mr. A. S. Thyaguraju discusses *The Origin of the word Kling*, Mr. L. V. R. Aiyar contributes a paper on *Dravidic Word Studies*, and Mr. K. Venkatappayya on *Education in Ancient India*.

The *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* for the year 1930, contains nine articles headed as follows:—(1) *A Few Stray Notes of Anthropological Interest with some Observations* by Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir J. J. Modi, (2) *"Some Common Superstitions of Rural People"* by S. N. Roy, (3) *"Further Notes on the Mundari Legends and Customs connected with the Origin of Names of Ranchi and some of its Suburbs"*, by S. C. Mitra, (4) *"The Role of Ritual in Life"* by Dr. J. F. Bulsara, (5) *"Some Strange Worship"*, by S. N. Roy, (6) *"A Note on Kolarian Belief About the Neolithic Celts"*, by S. C. Mitra, (7) *"Notes on a Few Recent Incidents of Anthropological Interest"*, by S. C. Mitra, (8) *"A Note on the Tibetan Method of Computing Distance by Names of Tea Cups"*, by S. C. Mitra, (9) *"Tablets of some Hungarian Writing"*.

In the *Aryan Path* for December 1931, B. M. traces *The origin of the Christmas Tree* to pre-Christian times.

In the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Vol. VIII. (1930-31), Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji discusses *Some Problems in the Origin of Art and Culture in India*.

*The Journal of the Burma Research Society* for December 1931 is taken up with an account by Dr. D. G. E. Hall, of the history of the tragic settlement on the island of Negrais and of the relations of the East India Company with the rival Courts of Pegu and Ava, during the period 1752-67.

In the *Vedic Magazine* for Nov. & Decr. 1931. Pt. Chamupati contributes an article on *Vedic Swarga*.

In *The Hindusthan Review* for Oct.—Dec., 1931, Mr. U. C. Chopra contributes a paper on *The Lore of the Ring: A Study*.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**A Sudanese Kingdom. An Ethnographical Study of the Jakun-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria.**  
*By C. K. Meek, B. A., with Introduction by H. R. Palmer, C. M. G., C. B. E., (Kegal Paul, 1931).*  
PP. XXXIII+548. Price 25 S. net.

Mr. Meek who as Anthropological Officer of the Administrative Service of Nigeria had ample opportunities for a scientific study of the Jakun groups of Nigerian people has utilised his opportunities to the great advantage not only of the administration of Nigeria but of the scientific world as well. In this well-written volume we have an exhaustive study of a very interesting people. The book begins with an Introduction by Mr. H. R. Palmer, C. M. G., C. B. E., who was formerly Lieutenant Governor of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria who authoritatively discussed the racial origins of the Jakun-speaking peoples of Nigeria who were he says, "*abinitio*, a Hamitic or half-Hamitic ruling caste, in fact a sacerdotal hierarchy, who controlled a number of loosely organized tribes, who had migrated to the Benner region of Nigeria which is their present habitat, from Kordofan and the region of the Nile, through the Fitri region, Mandara, and the Gongala region. In eleven chapters, the authorably deals with (1) The Environment and History of the tribe, (2) its social organization, (3) the belief in the Divine King and ceremonies connected therewith, (4) Gods and Ghosts, (5) the cult of the dead; and

Death and burial rites, (6) cults of minor deities (*Lares & Pentes*), (7) Witchcraft and Medecines, (8) Governmenty, (9) Social institutions (birth, circumcision, marriage) and daily life, (10) Economic life, and (11) *Æsthetic* life. Appendices giving eight comparative schedule of words and phrases of the various Jakun dialects and a plan of the sacred enclosure, of the King of Wukari, and an exhanstive index complete the work. A number of excellent illustrations enhance the value of the book. As with many of our primitive tribes in India, the spirit world dominates and regulates the daily life of the Jakuns.

The social system of Jakun-speaking peoples affords a very interesting study as being in a state of transition from mother-right to father-right. There are several interesting features in the ethnography of the Jakuns, and anthropologists are indebted to him for his very able and exhaustive monograph. Most anthropologists will envy Mr. Meek the achievement of producing such an admirable monograph as the result of only five months' study of the people.

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**New Discoveries Relating to the Antiquity of Man.**— *By Sir Arthur Keith. (Williams and Norgate, 1931). pp. 512. Price 21 S. net.*

This latest work of the Doyne of English Physical anthropologists, like his previous works, will be found invaluable to all students of the

science. Even the general reader who may feel interested in the story of man's evolution will find it free from abstruse technicalities and therefore highly interesting, entertaining and illuminating. The question of Man's origin is discussed afresh in the light of recent discoveries in all parts of the globe,—the Taungs Skull of Africa (*Australopithecus africanus*), the Fish Hack Man of South Africa (Cape Province) the Springbok Man of Northern Transval, Elmentcita Man of East Africa, the Galilee skull, later cave men of Palestine, certain dolichocephalic skulls excavated by M. De Morgan in Upper Egypt on the western bank of the Nile, ancient Sumerian skulls of South-Western Asia, the *Sinanthropus pekinensis* of China supplying one of the missing evolutionary stages,—a transitional stage betwixt ape and man,—the Cohuna skull of the Victorian plains of Australia, the Australoid skull known as the Punin skull found in the Andean region of Ecuador in South America, the Ehringsdorf skull found in Germany representing a variety of the early Neanderthal or Mousterian man, the Gibraltar skull no. 2, other recent osseous discoveries of Neanderthal man in Spain, Italy and Russia, the palæolithic remains buried under loess of the mammoth-hunters of Moravia now part of Czechoslovakia, representing the Predmost type of ancient humanity, the Kilyreany man of Southern Ireland, and the London Skull with Piltdown affinities discovered



in 1925 and the skull of *Homo gardarensis* discovered in 1926 at Gardar in west Greenland.

A survey of all available evidence leads Sir Arthur Keith to the conclusion that people who inhabited Europe in the closing phase of the last glacial period—the Magdalenian Europeans—were the descendants of the older inhabitants, the kind of people found in the Auragnician deposits of Southern France and Moravia. The author is of opinion that the Magdalenians were Europeans, as in their physical characteristics they bear the essential marks of the Caucasian stock of mankind. Space forbids us from entering in detail into the illuminating conclusions and instructive discussions of the learned author in this fascinating volume.

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**An Outline of Modern Knowledge.** *Edited by Dr. William Ross.*

This is a most useful publication which both the student and the general reader will cordially welcome. To the general reader the volume will be invaluable as a popular but luminous presentation of the up-to-date conclusions of theory and investigation, from the pen of eminent authorities in different branches of study. The volume starts with "A Philosophic and Scientific Retrospect" by Prof. A. Wolf who sums up the views held up to the 19th century, and concludes with a survey of Recent Contemporary Philosophy. This is followed by papers on "The Idea of God: An

Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion" by Prof. W. R. Mathews; "The Physical Nature of the Universe" by J. W. N. Sullivan; "Astronomy" by Prof. R. A. Sampson; "The Nature of Mathematics" by Prof. James Rice; "Biology and Human Progress" by Prof. Sir J. Arthur Thomson, "Sex" by Prof. F. A. E. Crew; "Psychology" by Dr. F. Aveling; "Theories of Psycho-Analysis" by Prof. J. C. Flügel; "The Beginnings of Morals and Culture: An Introduction to Social Psychology" by Dr. R. R. Marett; "The Characteristics and Distribution of the Human Race: An Introduction to Ethnology" by Prof. C. G. Seligman; "The Achievements of Archæology" by Prof. E. A. Gardiner; "Recent and Contemporary Philosophy" by Prof. A. Wolf; "An Introduction to Economics" by Maurice Dobb; "Finance" by Prof. T. E. Gregory; "Modern Theories and Forms of Industrial Organisation" by G. D. H. Cole; "Theories and Forms of Political Organisation" by G. D. H. Cole; "Modern Theories and Forms of International Organisation"; by Dr. C. D. Burns "The Science of History" by Prof. F. J. C. Hearnshaw; "Modern Geographical Ideas" by Dr. Dudley Stamp; "Principles of Literary Criticism" by Prof. L. Abercrombie; "The Arts of Painting and Sculpture" by Roger Fry; "The Theory and Practice of Architecture" by Prof. C. H. Reilly; and "An Introduction to Music" by Prof. R. O. Morris. These 24 substantial articles grouped in three sections headed respectively, (A) Science, Philosophy and Psychology; (B) Economics, Political

Science and History; and (C) The Principles of Literature and Art, cover almost the entire field of 'Modern Knowledge'. We cannot speak too highly of this volume which should find a place not only in every popular Library but in every School Library, College Library, and home library. Both in its matter and manner, a volume of this size could hardly be improved upon. An exhaustive index of 94 volumes of small print adds to the value of the book. And the price is a marvel of cheapness.

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**The Stone Age Cultures of Kenya Colony.**—*By L. S. B. Leakey, (Cambridge University Press, 1931). PP. XIII+288. Price 25 S. net.*

This book records the results of two seasons' excavations by the East African Archæological Expedition to Kenya (1926-29) under the leadership of the author. The book opens with a short account, in chapter I, of the meagre discoveries prior to 1926 and in the ten chapters that follow it deals respectively with "Climatic Changes", "Pleistocene Fauna", "Outline of the Kenya Culture Sequence", "The Kenya Mousterian and the Kenya Stellbay", "The Kenya Aurignacian", "The Mesolithic Cultures in Kenya", "The Elmenteitan and Kenya Wilton", "The Neolithic Culture in Kenya," "The Gumban Cultures and the Njoroan", and "The Relation of the Kenyan Cultures to those of Europe and of South

Africa" (in two chapters). Seven Appendices, two Maps, and an Index complete this well-written, well-illustrated and superbly got-up volume. Mr. Leaky's researches have opened out a new and fruitful field of prehistory.

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**Garnered Sheaves: Essays, Addresses and Reviews.** *By Sir James George Frazer. (Macmillan, 1931). Pp. XI+538. Price 21 S. net.*

This is a most delightful volume in which Sir James Frazer has collected a large number of Essays, Addresses, and Reviews, contributed by him from time to time in various publications. About 80 pages of Notes have been added to elucidate or supplement or give references or allusions to certain statements made in the Essays, Addresses and Reviews. These varied contributions,—some of which go back to the earlier years of his authorship whereas the latest take us down to the year 1929,—are all marked by the consummate scholarship, careful workmanship, perspicuity combined with loftiness of style and largeness of utterance, kindliness and humour, which we have learnt to associate with Sir James Frazer. The opening essay on 'Burial Customs' will be of special interest to students of anthropology as being the eminent author's first contribution to the science. The book will form a welcome and valued edition to the library of every anthropologist.

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**The Place of Prejudice in Modern Civilization.**—*By Sir Arthur Keith (Williams & Norgate. 1931). Pp. 54. Price 2 S. 6 d. net.*

This little book contains the substance of the author's Rectorial Address to the students of the Aberdeen University in June 1931. The teaching of this book is that race prejudice works for the ultimate good of mankind and must be given a recognized place in our modern civilization, but at the same time we must keep it under the control of reason.

The author's line of reasoning may be thus summarised mostly in his own words: The tribal state had at one time been universal. The birth, the growth and the astonishing development of our modern civilization brought about the collapse of the pre-historic tribal world; only in remote places do fragments of it still persist. The method by which new races of mankind become evolved (as given in the author's *Huxley Lecture* of 1928), is briefly as follows: "The machinery of human evolution is two-fold. Inside man's body there is a physiological machinery which regulates the development, growth, and characterization of all its parts". This is the hormone system, which is no doubt acted upon by climate, food, and a number of other factors. "Inside man's brain is another machinery which automatically plays the part of breeder. This is represented by what may be called tribal mentality. It, too, is reacted on by the society in which it lives. In the pre-historic world this dual machinery led to the production

of new races, each new form in the course of time being replaced by another—more adapted for the world in which they were born than those which had gone before". Modern civilization has crossed Nature's evolutionary plans, and broken up her old tribal organization and replaced it by a conglomeration of massed communities—nations, states and empires. "But inside the massed populations of to-day beats the old tribal evolutionary heart. Our modern political unrest is due to an inherited nature which is within each of us and seeking to reassert its old evolutionary dominion... The strife between our inherited instincts and the needs of an economic world is the cause of all our unrest".

In this Rectorial Address of 1931, Sir Arthur Keith goes one step further. He traces local, national and racial prejudices to the prehistoric stage of man's evolution, and shows that in the prehistoric world these prejudices served a useful purpose, and concludes that for the ultimate good of mankind, we should nurse and preserve these prejudices but endeavour to bring them under the control of reason. "The place of prejudice in our modern civilization should be that of servant, not of master". "Under the control of reason, prejudice has to be given a place in the regulation of human affairs"

We eagerly look forward to a sequel to the present essay in which the gifted author will enlighten the world with his views in detail as to how to keep these prejudices under the control of reason



so as to further and not hinder the growth of international friendship which is the greatest need of the hour.

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**The Mongol in our Midst: A Study of Man and his Three Faces.**—*By F. G. Crookshank. (Third Edition. Kegan Paul, 1931). Pp. XX+539. Price 21 S. net.*

In this book the author has put together evidence of facts which in his opinion tend to show the present races of mankind descended originally from different semi-simion groups, and that Mongoloids in our midst may be regarded to some extent as 'taking after' Mongoloid or Orangoid ancestors in prehuman, prehistoric, and historic periods of our genealogy". The differentiation of three classes of men and of apes is attributed to some endocrine excess or deficiency arising from different climatic or humeral conditions. The author writes: "Great as is the importance of environment, great as is the importance of gland-balances, greater still as is the importance of the reactions and interactions of the two, there is, as yet, no evidence whatsoever that likenesses and unlikenesses in what seem specific muscular, bony, nervous or visceral details are brought about by variations and modifications of such actions, reactions, and interactions, *within the limits of the time available*, unless the nearer or more remote factors of heredity and 'atavism' are invoked as

well." The author finds the usual pathological and biological explanation of arrested development for the Mongoloid element in the European population to be inadequate, and considers the case for the admission of some "atavistic" influence strong, and further seeks to strengthen the case by such support as he can find from ethnographical and anthropological data. Space will not permit us to enter into a discussion of the author's arguments which, though suggestive, do not appeal to us as convincing. The book, however, is well written and will be widely read with interest.

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**Matriarchy in the Malay Peninsula and Neighbouring Countries.**—By G. A. De. C. Moubray. (Routledge—1931) PP IX+292. Price 15 S. net.

The author who is a member of the Malayan Civil Service has rendered a distinct service not only to all anthropologists in general but to the administrators of the Malay Peninsula and to its people by this publication in which he sets forth the results of his investigations into the matriarchal system and the matriarchal customary law prevalent in that country. After an introductory sketch of the social and political structure of the Malay Peninsula and a few other neighbouring matriarchal areas, and a comparative study of underlying principles, the author describes in detail the custom in the Malay Peninsula, and concludes with a

discussion of the value of the *adat* (custom) and its adaptability to modern conditions. The book will be found highly interesting and illuminating by the anthropologist and it will be of invaluable help to officers engaged in the administration of the Malay Peninsula.

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**Ethnos or The Problem of Race considered from a new point of view.**—*By Sir Arthur Keith. (Kegan Paul. 1931). Pp. 92. Price 2 s. 6 d. net.*

The object of this essay, as the distinguished author tells us, is "to bring a knowledge gained from the study of prehistoric man to bear upon the racial problems of to-day". Sir Arthur approaches the problems of race from the point of view of a student of evolution, and thinks that mankind has reached or is reaching a critical point in its history. In this illuminating little book, Sir Arthur Keith has thrown new light on the most important problem of Ethnology—the problem of Race-differentiation, as also on a vital problem of politics, namely,—Nationality and Nation-building. The author's main argument and conclusions may be thus briefly summarised, as far as possible in his own words:

The concentration of racial types was the essential condition under which a racial type could be preserved and advanced. The influences which

brought about this concentration by tying early man to the soil on which he was born, were firstly, all those emotional reactions which are now known as patriotism; secondly, that complex of emotional reactions which are grouped under the name "herd instinct" (of which susceptibility to public opinion is a survival); thirdly, an instinctive preference for persons of the same distinctive physical features. Thus what are now called 'patriotism' and 'race-prejudice' originally worked towards the isolation of races. Evolution worked out new racial types through such isolation. The author regards race-feeling as part of the evolutionary machinery which safeguards the purity of a race (In fact, "human prejudices have usually a biological significance").

The ancient organization of mankind into many and diverse types (or races) was, and still is, Nature's way of evolving higher types (i. e. types better adapted for the needs of the time and the locality) through rivalry and competition. The general trend of evolution has been to give man a better knowledge of his surroundings, and to so endow him that from being the slave of circumstances he has become their master to a greater or less degree. Out of the hundreds of types which inhabited the earth in remote times have evolved, under conditions of unconscious competition, the four races of the present day which were found in possession of the world at the dawn of the historical period,—the Yellow or Mongolian type which evolved north of the

Himalayas, the Brown type which had its evolutionary cradle south of the Himalayas, the Black type which evolved in Africa south of the Sahara; and the White type whose evolutionary centre extended across the old world from Afghanistan and Arabia in the East to Ireland and the Shetlands in the West.

In the first or natural phase of man's evolutionary history which began with the emergence of humanity from a semi-simian or pithecanthropoid stage, and ended with the four full-blown types of humanity found towards the end of the last ice-age, the progress of man was effected in natural surroundings. The production of new races of mankind was everything in those early times.

Then some 10,000 years ago, when Europe was beginning to enjoy a more moderate climate a new phase of human evolution was initiated through the discovery of the art of agriculture, probably somewhere in South-Western Asia. Communities could only succeed and multiply if they could adapt themselves to the economic necessities of the new civilization, but failed and disappeared if wild nature was strong within them. Thus under this new phase of human evolution, race-production came to be sacrificed to economic necessity—the accumulation of wealth. The discovery of agriculture led to a gradual disintegration of the racial areas. The establishment of settled villages necessitated by this discovery, was in due course followed by the rise of cities and the growth of commerce. In time City States

and Empires came to be established, and a complete change took place in man's ideals. Man's chief aim now became the exploitation of the economic possibilities of the earth, and the Earth ceased to serve as a breeding ground for races. Modern civilization is based on the discovery of the art of agriculture. The tribe or tribes who made this discovery gained an advantage over all their hunting neighbours; their numbers must have multiplied as their food-supply increased; and so they had to spread into newer regions. All available data point to the Caucasoid East as the cradle of civilization from which wave after wave spread westwards across Europe. Tribal territories were broken down and the ancient tribal organization employed by Nature in the evolution of human beings was brought into a state of disorder. Traces of the ancient racial pattern of Europe may however be seen in the zone of long-headed swarthy peoples in the south, a zone of long-headed more or less fair people in the north, with intervening areas occupied by people with various types of round heads and intermediate degrees of colouring.

The author regards such manifestations of Race and of Nationality as Race-Pride, Race-Prejudice, Race Competition, Race Antagonism, Patriotism, Self-determination, etc., as part of the machinery which Nature has employed for the evolution of new and higher races of mankind. According to our author the chief modifications of mankind have been produced and their locality determined under



the action of a two-fold machinery—(1) a physiological machinery—mainly endocrine in nature—which determines the growth and characterization of the body; (2) a psychological machinery which lies at the very root of human mentality. To these has to be added a third, namely, the selective machinery of changing Environment (such as the gradual submergence of occupied lands, extension of desert zones and the spread and retreat of Arctic conditions). As this machinery of evolution has been in operation since the dawn of humanity and is still working in the human body and brain, there ought to be and there are races in every stage of the evolutionary scale—from the incipient stage where only a small percentage of individuals possess distinctive markings to the full or complete stage represented by pan-diacritic or fully-differentiated races in which every individual has undergone racial characterization. The number of races depends on the standard of differentiation we adopt. Races must be grouped according to their scale of physical differentiation, (from fully differentiated or pan-diacritic through macro-diacritic, meso-diacritic, and micro-diacritic down to the adiacritic stage). Thus a human race may be at any stage of differentiation, a nation may be an incipient race, however mixed its original population may have been. “When races meet and mingle in strange lands or when they are thrown together by economic necessity, Nature’s efforts at race production are thwarted thereby, but she at once sets to work to repair the mischief and to

build up by fusion a new race. Nation-building is the first step in race-building". The races which Huxley sought to discriminate by the Zoological method were fully differentiated races. "The races with which politicians have to deal are usually imperfectly differentiated races, but they are none the less biological races in the full sense of that term. Often the less differentiated a people is in the racial scale, the more tribal is its outlook and the more jealously does it strive for isolation and separation. In an evolutionary sense every nation is an adiacritic or potential race..... Our nationalities are real races in a microdiacritic stage of evolution".

"In the later stages of man's evolution a constant strife has been going on between man's reason and his inherited instincts. Man's body and brain have been fashioned to serve in the execution of a great scheme of progress by evolutionary means; that scheme is being foiled by civilization—man's greatest discovery. We were evolved under the rigours of the law of evolution. Human races are the result of experiments which have gone on for *untold eons* of time. They have been, on the whole, successful experiments; man has gone on improving. They were carried out, until man discovered the arts of sowing and reaping, in an environment of Nature's making. And now, man is awakening to the fact that Nature's primary end—race-building—is incompatible with the necessities of the modern economic world and is asking himself: What must I do? Bring race-

building as practised hitherto by Nature to an end and have eternal Peace? Or permit Nature to pursue her old course and have, as a necessary consequence—War?" Sir Arthur's answer to this question is:—"Man has to choose the one course or the other. There is no intermediate course possible. There is only one escape for man if he wishes to bring Nature's scheme of evolution to an end. His nature must be transformed, so that the whole population of the world may become members of one tribe. To bring about such a consummation Mankind would have to be deracialized, and every man and woman bred down by hybridization until all wore the same livery of living flesh. We have to choose between that consummation and the parlous state in which we live. In every way that is open to me I work for peace—a world peace—a peace by mutual understanding. Such is the ultimate aim of all who labour in the field of Anthropology. ...Every small nationality is a possible race and the probable source of an infinity of trouble to the world. ...No matter how strong the League of Nations may be or how complete the world may become policed,—so long as mankind is divided into a diversity of races there can be no real peace." Primitive or tribal man, like modern man, is both good and bad, friendly and peaceful within the tribe, hostile to those outside it. "We are all tribal in origin; our mental nature is so constituted as to fit into the scheme for the evolution of races." It is this racial heritage which leads

to wars. To ensure future peace, mankind must either deracialize itself, or train itself to bring the tribal instincts under the control of Reason". Sir Arthur is convinced that it is possible to obliterate racial boundaries by universal intermarriage, and by the exertions of generations of Eugenists in destroying what has taken Nature at least a quarter of million years to build up the present races of the world. But he would prefer the only other and "better way of solving the more acute difficulties of race and thus obtaining if not a profound, yet a partial peace." This better way is to comply with the intention of Nature as far as it appears in the constitution of Man—the great scheme of progress by evolutionary means.

"Men must be convinced that Evolution is true in practice—as well as in theory. They must realize, recognize and bring all their tribal instincts and racial prejudices under the rule of reason. It is only thus that the diverse races of mankind can live in the same world and yet preserve their respective heritages."

Anthropologists will generally agree with the learned author's conclusion that the "Evolution of man is a theory which must be constantly applied in the affairs of every-day life; without it we have no clue to the perplexities of racial animosity which ever disturbs the peace of the world."

The great value of the problem of race and our appreciation of the importance to anthropologists, sociologists and politicians of the eminent

author's contributions to the problem has led us to present to our readers this long summary of the essay. Every one interested in the problem will, it is expected, study this thought-provoking little book for himself.

We eagerly look forward to a sequel to this book and to his other book that we have noticed above (*The Place of Prejudice in Modern Civilization*), in which the eminent author may enlighten the world with his views as to the ways and means by which tribal instincts and racial prejudices can and should be brought under the rule of Reason.

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# 1. ORAON RELIGION AND CUSTOMS.

By RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.

Price.—Twelve Rupees.

## SOME OPINIONS ON THE BOOK.

Col. T. C. Hodson, M. A., *Reader in Ethnology in the University of Cambridge* :— "A book like this—sane, clear, scientific, sympathetic, comprehensive—is of prime importance to the student of Anthropology, to the student of Religion and to the Administrator who seeks or should seek to understand the forces which govern human activities, and it is full of charm and interest for the general reader who desires to know something at once accurate and intelligible of the Peoples of India".

Dr. R. R. Marett, M. A., D. Sc., *Rector of Exeter College Oxford* :— "In my opinion the latest work of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, namely, *Oraon Religion and Customs* (Ranchi, 1928), fully maintains the high standard of accurate observation and critical interpretation already reached by him in his well-known researches for which European scholars are exceedingly grateful ; for it is obvious that, so long as he accepts the same canons of inductive enquiry, the Indian investigator has a better chance of probing and penetrating to the truth in regard to all things Indian and especially in regard to the psychological facts."

Sir Arthur Keith, M. A., M. D., L. L. D., F. R. C. S., F. R. S., :— "I am very conscious of the great work you have done and are doing. There is no school or college of Anthropology but will make a special place for this your latest work both on its library shelves and in its heart. I doubt if any one has ever done so much for the Anthropology of a people as you have done for the Oraon. I endorse all my friend Col. Hodson has written in his preface and in particular would I underline your disinterested and persistent labour for the advance of Science".

Dr. Roland B. Dixon, A. M., Ph. D., *Professor of Anthropology in the Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.* :—

I was delighted to get your recent book on *Oraon Religion* and have reviewed it for the *American Anthropologist*. The



book carries on the high standard which you have set in your previous works, and presents the material in a very effective form. I congratulate you on it most cordially.

**The Times** (London, February 28, 1929):— A very detailed account of the religion and magic of the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur, a people of Dravidian speech. It is based on twelve years' investigation by a highly competent ethnologist, who has already published a work on this people. It can be seen what a rich field there is in India among the more primitive peoples, which, indeed, can best be tilled by trained Indian ethnologists. There is a long chapter also on movements during the last hundred years and more among the Oraons towards a higher, simpler religion, which will interest students of religious psychology.

**The Nature** (London, March 9, 1929):— Ethnologists are indebted to Sarat Chandra Roy for his valuable book "*The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur*" (1915), and now he has provided a study of *Oraon Religion and Customs* which should be read by all those who are interested in primitive religions. The especial value of this book is not merely in the detailed accounts of socio-religious and religious rites and ceremonies and magical practices, but in the very suggestive religious transformations that have occurred since the Oraons arrived, and the process is still continuing.

**The Discovery** (London, February, 1929):— When the history of ethnological study in India comes to be written, the name of the author of this work is least likely to be overlooked. By his own work and by his encouragement of others as editor of the periodical *Man in India*, he has deserved well of his colleagues in anthropology. Sarat Chandra Roy has published here the promised continuation of his studies of the *Oraon* of which the first instalment appeared as long ago as 1915. The author is here concerned only with their religious and magical beliefs, both directly in themselves and in their relation to the *Oraon* social institutions, such as are involved in birth, marriage and death. Of particular interest to students of folklore and primitive religion are the sections dealing with agricultural ceremonies and the belief in witchcraft which afford much useful material for both comparison and contrast with European folklore.

A final chapter deals with revival movements and modern tendencies in Oraon religion which is highly suggestive and deserves the careful attention of all who are in any way interested in or connected with the problems of administration among peoples of non-European culture.

**The Statesman** (Calcutta, March 17, 1929):— The Rai Bahadur is wellknown for his excellent monographs on the *Mundas* and the *Oraons*, and is everywhere recognized as an anthropologist of rare insight. India, with its great variety of races, nationalities, creeds, customs, and cultures affords an excellent field for the anthropologist and sociologist. This new book will be studied with delight by scientists in many countries. The author has made a capital use of his opportunities of studying the several tribes of aborigines in Chota-Nagpur and Central India.

**The Forward** (Calcutta, February 19, 1929):— The learned author is a pioneer in the field of anthropology and needs no introduction. His previous works— *The Bishors*, *The Mundas* and *The Oraons* are classics and had already established a world-wide reputation for him. The present volume is a befitting successor to his previous works. It is the outcome of the author's deep and laborious investigations into the religion and customs of the *Oraons*, a much-neglected tribe of Chota-Nagpur, carried on for a long period of about twelve years and as such an invaluable treasure to students of anthropology and students of religion.

The get-up of the book is excellent. In short, the book leaves nothing to be desired.

**The Servant of India** (Poona, May 30, 1929):— The book is worthy of the author, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy of Ranchi, who is a well-known student of anthropology relating to the aboriginal tribes of Chota-Nagpur and the Central Indian Plateau.

The chapter on socio-religious rites and ceremonies is very interesting and demands careful study. The last chapter on the *Oraon Religion* with its revival movements is exceedingly instructive.

We strongly recommend the book to students of anthropology as well as to the general reader.

**The Modern Review** (Calcutta, January, 1929):— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is one of the few Indians who has shown a keen interest in the study of the primitive folks

of this country. In fact, the works that he has already published have earned for him the reputation of being our foremost authority on the aborigines of Chota-Nagpur. The present volume on *Oraon Religion and Customs* is the sequel to his earlier work on *The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur* (1915). In it the Rai Bahadur has given an exhaustive account of the religions and social institutions of this interesting tribe, the result of close personal observation and intimate acquaintance spreading over a period of twenty years. He has analysed the Oraon beliefs into their purely religious and magical sides and has described the customs and rites associated with the chief crises of life. As an authoritative treatment therefore of Oraon life in all its phases, including some of the modern tendencies, his account could hardly be improved.

The book is well-printed and illustrated and the price is moderate for a work of this kind. For students of Anthropology in the Post-Graduate classes of our Universities it should form a very handy and reliable text-book for some of their courses.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore, July, 1929):— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is too well known in the anthropological world to need any introduction. The publication of a volume on *Oraon Religion and Customs* was foreshadowed in 1915, when his *Oraons of Chota-Nagpur* first appeared. He has since been engaged in the investigation of their religion and customs for well-nigh twelve years, and the results are embodied in the present richly illustrated volume.

The work is full of charm and interest to the general reader who desires to know something of the religion and customs of this interesting people. We have great pleasure in commending this volume to all students of anthropology.

### **N. B.**

As only a limited number of copies have been printed, intending purchasers are requested to place their orders with the undersigned without delay.

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**2. THE BIRHORS :** *a Little-known Jungle Tribe of Chota Nagpur.*—By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., M. L. C. Pp. viii+608, 36 plates. ( Ranchi : "*MAN IN INDIA*" Office, 1925). Price Rs. 10/- ; or 15 s.

### SOME OPINIONS.

SIR JAMES G. FRAZER, D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D., F. B. A., F. R. S., O. M., Professor of Anthropology in the Trinity College, Cambridge writes :—

.....I find it characterised by the same high qualities a mark your former monographs on the **Mundas** and **Oraons**. You have rendered a valuable service to anthropology by placing on record the customs and beliefs of a very primitive tribe about which very little was known before and which, but for your careful and prolonged observations, might have passed away practically unknown. As in your former volumes I admire the diligence with which you have collected a large body of interesting facts and the perfect lucidity with which you have set them forth. The book is a fine specimen of a monograph on an Indian tribe and must always remain the standard authority on the subject. I congratulate you heartily on your achievement, and earnestly trust that you will continue your valuable investigation and give us other similar accounts of other primitive and little known Indian tribes.

SIR ARTHUR KEITH, M. D., F. R. C. S., L. L. D., F. R. S., Conservator of the Museum and Hunterian Professor, Royal College of Surgeons of England, writes :—

.....You have done a splendid piece of work—one which will make Europe indebted to you.....

DR. A. C. HADDON, M. A., Sc. D., F. R. S., Reader in Ethnology, of Cambridge, writes :—

.....Your accustomed excellent work. It is a most useful contribution to Indian Ethnology.....

DR. ROLAND B. DIXON, A. M., PH. D., Professor of Anthropology in the Harvard University writes:—

.....You are certainly doing work to be proud of in the studies you have published of the Chota-Nagpur tribes, and all anthropologists are in your debt. If only we could have similar studies of all the wilder peoples of India, how fine it would be !.....

THE NATURE, (London : September 19, 1925 ) :—

.....Students of Indian anthropology are deeply indebted to Mr. Roy for the light he has thrown on the past and present culture of the Chota-Nagpur plateau. In the *Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal* he has opened up new ground in the archaeology of his area. His monographs on the *Mundas* and *Oraons* are classics. "The Birhors" is yet another first-rate study, a study not merely of an obscure tribe but also of the workings of that mysterious complex of thought and feeling which go to make up human culture.....Mr. Roy is never a theoriser or a partisan ; his diction is simple and precise, his inspiration comes straight from the hearts of the humble folk he has made his friends.

**3. THE MUNDAS AND THEIR COUNTRY.** With numerous illustrations, and an Introduction by SIR EDWARD GAIT, K. C. S. L., C. I. E., I. C. S., PH. D.

Price—Six Rupees.

#### SOME OPINIONS.

SIR J. G. FRAZER, D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D., F. B. A., F. R. S., Professor of Social Anthropology in the University of Liverpool, writes :—

It is a work of great interest and high value as a full and accurate description of an Indian Hill-tribe. I congratulate you on having produced it. You must have given much time and labour to the researches which you have embodied in this book. But the time and labour have been well spent. The description seems extremely clear and well written in the simple language which is appropriate to the theme, and the translations of the poetry are charming.

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